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ABSTRACT

Addressing the question of economic growth, this book focuses on the implications of industry re: Polish social structure, organization of farms, and changes in rural culture and large social groups. Emphasizing way and quality of life, this book includes the following major sections and article titles: (1) Industrialization and Changes in the Social Structure (Types of Industrialization; Types and Forms of Industrialization and Rural Socioeconomic Development: The Polish Experience; Changes in the Rural Social Structure; Dual Occupation in Polish Agriculture; Social Changes in Suburban Villages; The Impact of Industrialization on the Transformation of the Rural Settlement Structure and the Occupational Structure in Southern Poland; Physiotactic and Environmental Protection); (2) Agriculture and the Farm (Changes in Individual Farming During the 30 Years of the Polish Peoples Republic; Processes of Differentiation of Peasant Farms in Poland; Collective Farming in Poland; Sociological Problems of Polish State Farms); (3) Changes in the Way of Life (Transformation of the Way of Life and Values; Processes of Rationalization of Social Attitudes of Polish Peasants; The Young Rural Generation in the Polish Peoples Republic; The Young Generation's Aspirations and Orientations; Theoretical and Practical Implications of the Different Meanings of Unequal Access to Education; Changes in the Situation of Country Women). (JC)

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Fourth World Congress for Rural Sociology
Poland, Toruń, 9-13 August 1976

Theme of the Congress: The Integrated Development of Human and Natural Resources: The Contribution of Rural Sociology.

Seminar Topics

1. Concepts and Strategies for the Integrated Development of Human and Natural Resources
2. The Consequences of Economic Growth for Human and Natural Resource Development
3. Technological Change in Agriculture and Modernization of Rural Life: the Need for Integrated Development
4. Demographic Changes and Strategies of Development
5. Spatial and Regional Planning as Strategies of Development
6. Rural Social Change and Land Reforme
7. Collective and Cooperative Farming as a Strategy of Integrated Development
8. Employment, Occupational Structure and Strategies of Integrated Development
9. Stratification and Social Mobility of the Rural Population: Implications for Integrated Development
10. Peasant Societies and the Dillemmas of Development
11. The Future of Rural Communities in Industrialized Societies
12. The Role of Government in Integrated Development
13. Rural Groups and Cooperatives: Their Role Integrated Development
14. The Changing Roles of Women in Rural Societies
15. Rural Youth: Human Resource or Human Burden
16. Minority and Ethnic Groups in the Process of Integrated Development
17. Recreation, Leisure and Strategies of Integrated Development
18. The Quality of Life: the Impact of Expectations on Development
19. Environmental Development and the Quality of Life
20. The Changing Nature of Rural Religious Institutions
21. The Rural Family Today

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RURAL SOCIAL CHANGE IN POLAND

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INTRODUCTION

The present volume is the third to present Polish rural sociology to the foreign reader. The first publication was a special English language edition of "Roczniki Socjologii Wsi" ("The Annals of Rural Sociology. Special Issue") (1968) containing a selection of articles from the first 7 volumes of that "Annals". It has oriented the reader abroad on the directions and state of scientific work in Poland in the field of rural sociology. The second publication, in the French language (*Les Transformations de la campagne polonaise*, ed. R. Turski, 1970), provided an allsided view of research and studies conducted in Poland in centres of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Universities and institutions directly connected with social practice. This volume constitutes current the most complete presentation of the trends in Polish rural sociology.

In comparison, the present volume, issued by The Institute of Philosophy and Sociology under the Polish Academy of Sciences, is directed to mainly one problem. This is the question of economic growth, in particular, the implications of industrialization for the social structure, the organization of farms of various types, for changes in rural culture and way of life and in the situation of large social groups, such as the rural youth and women.

The choice of themes is not accidental. The process of industrialization transpiring in Poland under the conditions of the given socio-economic system is the main factor which moulds the shape of the society, including rural society. The first part of that subject-matter, establishment of the types and forms of industrialization and the manners of its influence on rural life and the changes in the rural social structure it effects have been dominant in the research and theoretical works of recent years. That stage may be regarded as finished, or temporarily closed, unless the need arises of basic conceptual changes. The research trend now leans more toward cognition of cultural changes: living conditions and expectations in that respect, the way of life and the so-called quality of life. That direction of interest is growing at present and may be expected to be dominant in the coming years.

The volume is naturally limited in content. It hence does not fully reflect contemporary rural sociology in Poland either in the choice of authors or subjects: A considerably fuller presentation will be, for example, the set of papers to be delivered by Polish participants at the Fourth World Congress of Rural Sociology (Toruń, Poland, August 9-13, 1976). The reader desiring to form an opinion on what Polish rural sociologists are occupied with and the scientific level of their work should be referred to those papers. Among works not included in this volume, which would essentially supplement the subject-matter it contains, may be mentioned by way of example: the study of F. Kolbusz on changes in small farms in the region of the most fragmented agriculture (South Poland), the work of J. Burszta and studies made under the direction of A. Kwilecki of social changes in villages of western regions regained after the war. Or the research conducted by the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology on household economy and the quality of life, research on the rural parish conducted by the Lublin Centre or investigations of the situation of rural aged.

In the coming volumes of the "Annals of Rural Sociology", prepared in the English language, the reader will find an essential supplement of the articles presented. But those presented in this volume enable to grasp the consequences of economic growth for rural life and the apprehensions connected with them. The comprehension of economic growth is undoubtedly subject to constant redefinition in connection with the difficulties it confronts and its unexpected and often undesirable consequences. Many sociologists and economists express anxiety in this respect and seek alternatives. The works of Polish rural sociologists contained in this volume tend in the same direction and constitute their contribution to the world discussion.

Bogusław Gałęski

I. INDUSTRIALIZATION AND CHANGES IN THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

BOGUSŁAW GAŁĘSKI

TYPES OF INDUSTRIALIZATION

Although social effects of industrialization are programmed subjects of only a few sociological research centers in Poland[1], probably all scientists interested in present-day problems have been dealing with theme. However results of this wide research activity are comulating into a system of positive knowledge on the subject, to a small extent only. It might be worth-while to bring up some known difficulties.

First of all, all general reflections (both theoretical and in publicity, if such a differentiation should be made in the former literature on the subject) do not correspond with empiric research. Results of empiric research are very seldom used as premises of reasoning in general considerations. They serve more for exemplification of theses deduced on different principles. On the other hand, opinions and suppositions expressed in the course of theoretical discussions are not accepted as starting points or hypotheses in empiric research and no wonder as they are usually untranslatable into a language of inquiries or analytic tables. So, if it happens that facts denying some intuitive assumptions (too carelessly formulated) are given, or that some ill considered interpretations of empiric material is pointed out, such an event has to be considered exeptional. So far, there is no system of closer interdependences between two kinds of cognitive activity and mutual inspiration is what rather could be discussed.

In any of these fields, considered separately, there is no closer contact between individual studies either. Theoretical considerations are most often so different sequences of argumentations that most often they do not have common tangential points, and it is hard to expect a wider views' complex resulting from polemics. A synthesis (or even simple comparison) of empiric research results are extremely difficult being most often too fragmentary and applying an entirely different conceptual equipment. So far neither on that basis a larger system of hypotheses that would organize the research activities has been created.

Such a situation, may be little exaggerated, occurs, of course not only in studies on social effects of industrialization. The phenomena indicated here are often used as crucial arguments, being subject of criticism and there may be many opportunities and motives – as social sciences are in general and sociology in particular. Criticism eventually exhorts to synthetical formulations (or coming back to synthesis), however voices postulating such a necessity are not successful since they do not indicate the way of overcoming the real difficulties. Suggestions of return to intuitive or speculative syntheses are sometimes accepted – as many general deliberations mentioned above. However, the point is that such formulations, typical for the period of beginnings of social sciences and extremely valuable in those times, are not satisfactory today because today science is supposed to deliver suggestive intuition as well as empiric validity, it means that like it is in natural sciences: "Only such statements should be formulated which have been or at least might be proved experimentally". The intuitive way of practicing sociology may be even postulated but it does not satisfy anybody, although nobody denies the role of intuition in cognitive activity. The point is however, that it should inspire research instead of replacing it.

Despite of strong criticism of empiric studies that are based on inquiry techniques as well as on statistical analysis, their increase in number and growth in importance should be expected. Methodology accompanying these techniques is constantly developing, theoretical patterns of research procedures[2] are being formulated and in many fields (first of all in social psychology) they are already giving practically applied results. Instead of wasted condemnations a possibly full information on present methodological requirements regarding empiric studies, should be secured.

Methodology development is obviously the basic condition to establish a system of knowledge accumulation and a factor influencing this system actively. Another factor are organized activities, partly produced by the development of empiric research itself. Multiplication of research projects imposes the necessity of their planning – in limited scope at least – calls for organized contacts, ever if they did not live up to expectations, encourages the return of ideas of comparative investigations[3], still unsatisfactory, and eventually forces collecting research results, if only in form of simplified records. Documentation publishing of abstracts and terminological dictionaries, one subject compendium surweys, sets of controversial articles and materials seem to be most essential in this respect.[4]

Both factors, conditioning and stimulating the process of formation of knowledge accumulation system, still do not secure the creation of such a system within the given subject. They stimulate the unification of concepts and techniques of research, and help to define the problems, but they give no guarantee that within the given subject, a group of concepts will arise, making the moving from detailed results to more general hypotheses possible and correcting (narrowing or enlarging) these hypotheses by investigation undertaken especially for that purpose. Such a conceptualization arises on a basis of growing knowledge of the subject simultaneously with a demand for new research instruments.

It seems that such a demand has been recently developed in the research on social effects of industrialization. A certain level of knowledge on that subject has been already achieved.[5] Many facts and processes could be indicated, generally and without hesitations recognized as industrialization effects. Bibliography of detailed studies in this field would already include hundreds of items. Attempts of a synthetic approach to the subject or perhaps summaries appeared also in the world literature.[6] However, we are not happy repeating general statements – true in a way but too vague – as well as establishing new particulars which do not help in making these statements more accurate, serving only as illustrations. There are also few much more interesting observations contradicting the above statements, that for example not always and not everywhere erection of a big factory has to change the surrounding villages into peasant-workers dormitories, sterilize the socio-cultural rural life – desintegrate the willage as a primary group etc.[7] Such observations indicate that the ~~social~~ effects of industrialization are more diversified than commonly supposed and sometimes even contradicting usual expectations. This brings us to the fact that most statements regarding industrialization effects have no temporary range of validity. So, they are not hypotheses but suppositions that could be transformed into hypotheses by introducing limiting variables. Maybe the general question on social effects of industrialization (which some time ago released such a wide research activity) – is already too vague now. If one does not wish to repeat discoveries which became banal, a more developed question should be asked: which type and way of industrialization brings definite results in definite rural communities (or better: "what results in what communities")? This question being a consequence of a reached level of knowledge, imposes the necessity of introducing new differentiations[8], which should enable new hypotheses verified in the course of research.

LEADING MECHANISMS OF INDUSTRIALIZATION – EMPLOYMENT AND WORK PRODUCTIVITY

"Industrialization" is a term often used in a wide meaning. It is often used as an abbreviated meaning embracing various, though perhaps coupled processes or phenomena being the very contents of modernity, so, that the common name almost becomes its synonym. An explanation of different contemporary phenomena by referring to industrialization understood that way, can be hardly accepted since at least a partion of explanatory elements is included into the explanatory factor. A most frequently used and as it seems – very limited definition of industrialization as a process taking place in countries with almost no industry[9] or no industry at all seems difficult to accept. With such reasoning it would be difficult to speak about industrialization in European countries whatsoever.

May be the term "industry" itself requires a more precise definition.

Recently, for example, a term "touristic industry" is being used. It seems that the name "industry" was applied in this case, to a particular system of group activities organization, extended recently not only on manufacturing branches but also on services. Although the meaning of the term is used differently here than while discussing, migration from agriculture to industry, or interdependency of these two fields of national economy.

In empiric studies on social effects of industrialization industry is most often understood as a branch of national economy which could be defined more precisely referring to the official list of enterprises registered under this entry. The term "industrialization" should be consistently understood as placing these enterprises in the national economy (or in the economy of a particular district or region). Those, who would be right to avoid the vague term "placing", are usually indicating the measure applied to determine the industrialization degree. In sociological research, a most often applied measure is the number of persons employed in industry[10] (or a percentage of persons employed in industry compared with the total number of persons professionally active). This measure (and the connected with it understanding of industrialization) seems to be sensible and useful as it shows what considerable part of the society is taking part in industrial production or which part is engaged directly in this particular system of work organization, defining many fundamental characteristics of living conditions.

Industrialization is an economic phenomenon, although not only, and so economists have to consider also other indexes to measure its degree – such as: the share of industrial production in the whole national manufacture (respectively that of a district or region), share of industry in the national income or the value of production means engaged into the productive process, compared with the total of production means in national economy. These measures may be not of direct significance, for many sociological studies, although they show the place of industry in national economy or in the general activity of the society. However, confronted with such a basic measure like employment coefficient, they may picture different kinds or types of industrialization implying (as it may be expected) – different social effects. And so, for example, the economists distinguish an industrialization based on employment increase and an industrialization based on increased work productivity.[11] These being not alternatives – both the first and the second may occur. However, even then values of both indexes appear in different proportions. The comparison of their structure gives the possibility to single out two extreme types of industrialization: 1) achieved mainly by increase of direct labour, and 2) industrialization being the result of capital expenditures, meaning modernization and work rationalization.

There are many reasons for a region to be classified closer to one of the extreme types. This being influenced by natural conditions, economic history of a country or region as well as its economic policy (with an objective to achieve full employment, for example) or a socio-economic system, where modernization stimuli are weaker than the pressure of labour supply.

A type of industrialization is determined directly by the industry structure i.e. by size and quantity of industrial plants. In each industrial branch the part of labour (required level of workers qualifications) as well as possibilities of modernization are different. As during longer periods of time an increase of labour productivity is a constant tendency, the types mentioned here may be also treated as historical stages of industrialization in a given country and it should be assumed that the stage of industrialization based, first of all, on employment increase will be followed by a second based mainly on labour efficiency increase.

Social effects of the types (or stages) mentioned are – as one may believe – different. Demographic consequences will be different and in the first place directions and scale of migration from rural areas. Having not found work in industry, the migrants – and migration is to a great extent determined by a necessity to leave agriculture – will exert pressure upon other development sectors and thus find (or create) new working places. The type of industrialization determines also to a considerable extent at least, the occupational structure of the population, thus designates the possibilities and directions of social mobility (this being not without impact on aspirations), as well as the ways of realization. By determinating an occupational structure, an industrialization type determines as well the level and kind of technical and general knowledge, the level and kind of aspirations and in consequence the material and cultural needs. It is obvious, that the type of industrialization depends on the degree of economic development as well as on the general development of the society in which it arises. It is hard to expect the modern industry to be developed on a wider scale in a country with a low level of education as well as material and cultural needs. Nevertheless, an interaction exists. It is not only the type of industrialization which is determined by the type of society in which it arises, also the changes in this society are defined by the type of industrialization. So, general statements regarding social effects of industrialization may be true or false depending to what type of industrialization they refer. They may be also misleading giving the same name to qualitatively different phenomena.

The structure of industry determines industrialization types not only according to the size and kind of employment requirements and modernization possibilities. The structure of national economy, is of equal importance industry in the first place, because of the proportions between sectors producing means of production and those producing means of consumption.

LEADING MECHANISMS OF INDUSTRIALIZATION – PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION

The distinction between the two sectors of economy has been introduced by Marx in his studies on mechanism and conditions of simple and enlarged reproduction.[12] This distinction creates many practical problems – it would be difficult, e.g., to include armaments to any of these sectors (it is usually included into the first). It is also hard to classify these products which can well serve as means of consumption and or as means of production. Finally one can, and one should for planning purposes, distinguish, more sectors, with definite proportions among one another, the latter being an indispensable condition of economic balance and growth. However, these matters do not change the argumentation essentially. The basic conclusion drawn from the reproduction models is most important; namely it is a statement that the basic condition of reproduction is a balance of flows, regardless where the accumulation is located.[13] Theoreticaly, two extreme solutions are possible: one with accumulation located in the first sector (production of the means of production) and a second when it would be located in the second (production of means of consumption). That would mean two ideal types of industrialization. In the first one ("productive") the production of means of production would be the leading mechanism whereas consumption would remain settled or growing to such extent to make the process possible. In the second one, (consumption-oriented) the constantly growing production of means of consumption would become a principle and condition of development, while production of means of production would increase only to an extent necessary to meet the demands of the second sector. The chances of such extreme models to occur in pure form are obviously small, as they would cause many economic complications. Possibilities of production increase based on extended supplies of constant capital, are limited on a certain level for each period of time; production increase within the first sector requires a certain growth in employment which would mean an increase in the second sector as well. The society is also against keeping a constant level of consumption which is influencing labour productivity. Ewentually, modernization requires a higher level education and technical knowledge as well as an increased number of specialists, all this demanding higher standards of consumption. An increased output of consumer's goods requires a further growth of the first sector including itself mechanisms of growth. For different reasons also in view of defensive capability the development of the first sector is not only supported by managers but also by larger social groups, also in view of defensive capability.

With all objections, the distinguishing of the two ideal types seems reasonable because the decisions on placing accumulation are basically free. The basic manufacturer of the first sector are its own means of modernization. It means that economy is capable of development also in an extremely "rational" way, in a "production for production" system. As it is, the economical balance and development may be a result of various decisions and therefore the latter are determined by interchanging social forces, by a clash of valuation systems characteristic for individual social groups or even by a collision of interests of these groups – interests originated from one, generally accepted, valuation system.

Deliberations on social forces determinating decisions on placing accumulations leads us towards a wide socjological topic which could not be discussed here. The important conclusion for our purposes is just the determination of industralization types.

Mechanisms determining each of these types also referred to as "producers market" and "consumers market" by the economists may also appear, to some extent. A hypothesis that they are stages of economic development, may be also accepted. Although historically the development of the second sector used to be the premise and the base for the first, in underdeveloped countries this order is now often changed and the first industrialization period is mostly of "productive" character in the meaning given here. Even with such an understanding of industrialization types distinguishing them and describing the dissimilarity of their social effects seems useful. It is worth knowing that in a country shifting from the first stage to the second, the actually examined effects of industrialization belong already to the past, and that such a country should expect phenomena that are not to be observed yet in research.

The distinction between types of industrialization could serve as a good starting point in describing different societies. Recognized values are the sphere where dissimilarity occurs. The "productive" type implies the existance of ideology, recognition of serving an idea as a superior value power of the state, nation, class economic development[14] or at least sacrifices for the benefit of future generations. In accepting this type of industrialization, different and even in other matters contradicting ideologies may cooperate. If a "productive" industrialization type is being realized accompanied by an increase of employment and in a country of agrarian overpopulation, then it may be generally accepted (especially by rural areas) regardless of ideological motivations imposed on it by centers of realizations. If this type is realized in a society of strong consumption aspirations, then it must be based on a power equipped with strong repressive means, able to restrain social conflicts. However, even regardless of strong control, an expansion of aspirations and consumption patterns, will result in a development of this industrialization type towards an industrialization subordinated to consumption.

Consequences of an accepted or imposed type of industrialization are relatively easily perceptible in the sphere of values as well as in the political sphere. It seems, however, that social effects are much deeper and they reach into the social structure as well as patterns and ways of social mobility, determining the directions of changes and through dissimilarity of institutional solutions are strongly influencing the character of inter-personal relations and patterns of socialization.

Naturally, a definite type of industrialization is always placed in a definite society but an interaction exists. The features of a given society, its demographic structure, agrarian relations, educational level, etc. – create conditions modifying the industrialization type or even forejudging its very existence; on the other hand, in a certain system of economic development the society is engaged in this development and transformated in this process produces effects the part of which only may be desired.

An industrialization type based on employment or labour productivity is qualified by features mentioned already before.

In order to determine the productive or consumption type of industrialization, a dynamic analysis of consumption level increase in a certain period of time, would be necessary, as well as a dynamic analysis of production of means of production pointing out especially the relation of investments in heavy industry to the investments in consumption sectors.

The shown indices give a partial characteristics of extremely complex structures. Comparison of indices only permits the determination of the industrialization process in one country or region in comparison to other countries or regions.

A combination of both typologies allows to distinguish initially four types of industrialization:

1. based on increased employment in an industry with a productive leading mechanism,
2. based on an increase of employment with a consumption leading mechanism,
3. based on an increase of labour efficiency in the economy oriented versus first sector,
4. based on an increase of labour efficiency in the economy oriented versus second sector.

Apparently the connections seem more harmonious in the second and the third type, but as a matter of fact the remaining types (the first and the fourth) are being realized (not completely of course). This is explained – so far – by the developed consumers aspirations being important stimulants of labour productivity increase. Developed consumption models are also connected with a higher level of education and techno-professional knowledge which is an indispensable condition for the increase of labour productivity. It is impossible for an increase based on "productive" mechanism to be connected with a more significant labour productivity increase (the third type) since its basic characteristics is to keep consumption or even its limitation on a stable niveau. Indicating the importance of factors influencing labour efficiency increase it might be worth to distinguish industrialization types according to some other characteristics.

DIRECTIVES AND INTERACTIVE ECONOMY SYSTEM

These characteristics are first of all rules of economy functioning, and ways of combining consumption with productive activity in particular.

Within the first type – let's call it "directive" – producers receive their orders given by a planning center and are then rated, punished or rewarded according to the fulfillment of tasks. An appropriate economic system based on the same principle deals with the distribution of goods.

A consumer may, of course, choose this or another product (although examples of compulsory purchases are known) from the lot offered by distribution. His behavior has no direct influence neither on the producer's nor on the distributor's activity. The planning center is an intermediary factor taking the consumer's not always into reaction account, the more, that as far as basic demands are concerned, the consumer is not in a position to refrain form purchases. Although the planning center is not capable of changing the fundamental human needs, it can influence their modification as well as create new needs or make their appearance difficult.

Naturally the planning center, is operating more or less smoothly and rationally – problems of compatibility of needs with productive and distributive activity, ensuring the right incentives for economic institutions as well as criterions of judging are very difficult and complex – however there are problems of an organizing or technical character being beyond our topic, unavoidable failures in the functioning of the system bring undoubtedly social repercussions. The main feature of the system characterized here and of the industrialization type based on it, is the indirect character of connections between production, distribution and consumption being realized through interdependence between each of these spheres and the main planning and coordinating center.

In the second extreme type – let's call it "interactive", the productive activity and the consumers needs meet directly on the ground of distribution, on the market. Consumers' behaviour is a direct source of reward and punishment for producers. Meeting the needs is a condition of the manufacturing process and is indicating the producers chances of survival. Obviously the producers are doing their best to create actively the consumers needs by introducing new products on the market, advertising commercials etc., it means by modification and creating new consumption models. It doesn't change the fact that the adaptation has to be mutual and that the system is functioning thanks to direct action of production and consumption. While in the previous type unavoidable failures in operating and coordinating are a permanent source of social tension, in the interactive type spontaneous processes of mutual adaptation bring the danger of cyclical depressions as well as known paradoxes: overproduction and waste on one hand unfulfilled human needs on the other and a far fetched rationalization of economical activity within enterprises.

The types described here do not exist any more. The first type, common in socialist countries is being presently modified and a tendency could be observed in all these countries to introduce some flexibility into directive systems. Elements of interaction are being introduced to some extent. The second type does not occur in pure form either. The economy monopolization changed the functioning of the system to a certain extend only. Intervention of the state seems to be essential in a form of taxation determining, also prices level, investments etc. Although the modifications introduced bring both types closer to each other, the basic difference still remains. This difference should not be reduced to characteristics of the socialist and capitalist systems, undoubtedly the system of private owner ship of means of production creates many difficulties for a directive type of economy whereas nationalization of means of production makes the realization of such an idea not only easy but encourages it.

Nevertheless both types (especially the second one) may exist both in the system of private or public ownership of means of production, and the principle of planning – so much emphasized in socialist countries, may be realized not only through directives given to enterprises but also via planned stimulation of the market and steering the interaction processes in the required direction.

The idea that industrialization processes occuring in each of the types defined here would cause different socio-economic effects seems fully justified. A part of those effects has been already indicated while speaking of sources and directions of social antagonisms focussing in the first type around planning-and-decision-making center but being simultaneously refrained by the fact that all the workers could be regarded as employees of this center. In the second system conflicts occur more clearly between social groups or classes. The fact, that the second system is being realized mainly in capitalist countries, transforms these conflicts into elements of the fundamental antagonism between production means owners and manpower sellers.

The consequences reach also the sphere of social structure, social mobility patterns as well as the sphere of inter-human relations: while in the first system the relation "superior – subordinate" or "official – suppliant" is a predominating type of relation, the relation "seller – customer" is most common in the second. It is evident, that in connection with the evolution of both systems, both relation types mentioned here co-exist presently in each of them. The growing role of organization in the second type stimulates the expansion of the "superior – subordinate" type of relation, although the market type relation remains central for the functioning of the system.

Socio-economic systems distinguished above and determinating the types of industrialization taking place in their frames are closely connected with the types described above. It could be observed that the directive system is connected with "extensive" industrialization – it means with an industry growth based on employment increase and with a leading role of the first sector, whereas interactive system is connected rather with "intensive" industrialization based on modernization of technology and growing labor productivity with the leading role of consumption. So, may be, we should not speak about three pairs of industrialization types but rather about two theoretical extreme types constructing a continuum of intermediate types between them.

It so happened that the first type directive (increase of employment, leading role of the first sector) appeared in socialist countries, whereas the second type (interactive, increase of labour productivity, leading role of consumption) in capitalist countries. Comparison of these types does not mean comparing capitalistic and socialist types of industrialization. The second type (with many restrictions) is typical for economically developed countries only, and does not exist in capitalistic underdeveloped countries. In those countries the strategies of economic development are a rule connected strictly with national independence gained recently and therefore with an organization of an administrative and political system. This fact introduces into their economic strategy features attributed to the first type resulting in implementing elements of socialism (nationalization of some branches of national economy) or of state capitalism to economy of these countries. So, the occurence of any of these industrialization type seems to be connected rather with the degree of economic development. The fact that the first industrialization type occurred in socialist countries should be explained not only by socialist ideology dominating there (socialization of means of production, socialist ideology, power in the hands of a Worker's Party) but also by the fact that they were all underdeveloped countries. This assumption would find its confirmation in contemporarily observed tendencies, namely the economic system and industrialization in these countries evolves towards the second type as in some respects (increase of coordination and role of big organizations) the economic system of developed capitalistic countries seems to evolve towards the first type.

The fact, that all socialist countries folow the first type of industrialization neither helps to define the differences between social effects of "capitalistic and socialist" industrialization nor determine the characteristics of socialist and capitalistic industrialization. It would be at least difficult in an synchronous approach because XIX century industrialization has been described thoroughly and it is relatively easier to compare it with the industrialization in socialist countries[15]. The differences between social effects of socialist and capitalistic industrialization are, of course, extremely essential. Avoiding easy analogies or contrasts, a comparative study on socialist and capitalist countries of different economic levels should be worked out in order to compare which results might be explained just by the features of industrialization types described here, and which phenomena should be explained by the character of the system, ideology or the fact of socialization of the means of production. The distinction of industrialization types (or stages) presented may serve the purpose. They just allow to exclude the influence of these factors which are not cennected with the socialist system but more with conditions of the countries where communist parties won the power.

As one can see, the types distinguished here may serve a comparative study of macrostructures. However, these features seem to be useful also for research on social effects of industrialization made in one country. If a research on industrialization is being undertaken in a country, the type of it should be determined prior to the research. Obviously, these investigations have to take into account the features of different regions, districts and communities in a country but general features of industrialization will remain essentially the same.

FUNCTIONAL INTERRELATIONS BETWEEN AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRY – THE CHANNELS OF INDUSTRIALIZATION INFLUENCE ON RURAL LIFE

One of essential features which have to be taken into account in investigating the social effects of industrialization on different social levels, is a structure of industry according to functional connections of its different branches with agriculture. When speaking about these connections, first of all facts occuring on the labour market manpower flow from agriculture to industry, should be considered. Most often the conclusions are based on investigations of migration from rural to urban areas which is not equal with the flow of manpower from agriculture to industry. Migration is not only directed towards industry but also to different sectors of national economy which is obviously connected with the type of industrialization in a given country. It embraces not only farm population (if a farm is to be understood as an unit producing agricultural goods to be sold on the market) but also, or even first of all, the migrants from families living on small acres producing nothing or nearly nothing for sale. As a matter of fact, manpower flow from agriculture to industry constitutes a bigger or smaller anyhow but always considerable part of migration from rural to urban areas and in more fundamental studies these two problems are separated. There are many studies devoted to this matter i.e. to the labor market. The relations between agriculture and industry occuring on the goods market are also important though they have no rich scientific literature.

Agriculture is not only delivering means of direct consumption but also producing raw materials for various industrial branches (first of all for processing industry) whereas industry supplies agriculture with many important means of production, particularly tools, machinery and farming mechanization equipment.

Each of these relations between agriculture and industry has different effects which are not limited to the economic sphere only. They are only more direct and visible in the economic sphere. Both basic effects caused by industry development on the employment market – manpower flow from agriculture to industry and an increase of part-time farming groups – may lead as well to an increase of agricultural production as to a decrease of it, if exceeding a certain level, underdevelopment or even recess. The migration help the agriculture to get rid of "superfluous labor" (in the field of production) and additional income solves the basic problems of existance of families leading a mere existence on "dwarf farms". The result is that an influence of industry on rural life through the labor market stimulates the growth of labour productivity, modernization of production, diminishes splitling up farm units or even contributes to improvement of land structure (splitling up of dwarf farms within one generation of part-time farming families does not harm) the development of agriculture where favorable conditions are created for development of this branch of national economy. However, when the manpower outflow from agricultural is so big that it may not be further compensated by technical modernization or double employment, lowering the productive capacity of farmers families (on the middle size farms) then the situation is different. Many factors being the consequence of these phenomena like lack of manpower, and farmers employed full-time, in particular, also a negative selection, occuring in the migration process regarding the level of education may lead to decrease of agricultural production, deficient land, utilization of negative attitudes towards modernization etc. These phenomena taking place with a certain increase in labour productivity may cause a decrease or stopping of the manufacturing process in spite of reorganizational efforts aiming at structural change in agriculture (creation of big farms) according to the number of producers.

Since the changes in employment level and in the level of technology show an interdependence, it is difficult to speak about univocally "destructive" or "constructive" economic effects caused in agriculture by one of these factors (outflow of manpower or growth of technical level), but a defined proportion between those factors confronted with the level and potentials for technical modernization of agriculture in a given country, might determine the final effects.

It could be, of course, assumed, that the effects of each factor could result in certain economic, or even more generally put, social consequences. These consequences, however, will show considerable variability according to the strength of the acting factor and particular features of a region or community it influences, whereas in relation to each other they will be either of convergent, complementary, contrary or neutral character. For example the first factor (industrialization influence on labour market) causes outflow of manpower from agriculture and increases the peasant-workers (or part-time farmers) group. The second factor (technical modernization of agriculture) may be of 1. a complementary character – it increases the number of "superfluous" workers in agricultural production and it compensates labor outflow by increasing of labour productivity but, to a limited extend only, 2. a neutral character – it creates the conditions for better utilization of existing labor capacities in agriculture, without changing the employment level, finally 3. a contrary character – opposite to migration by creation of better opportunities for employment at home thanks to intensification of agricultural production. It sounds like a paradox for people being under the impression that "a machine replaces a man". However, it should be remembered that introduction of machinery into a peasant's farm (not to mention other types of modernization) does not reduce the general work performed by a family. By working with lower labour expenditures a family is able to undertake other activities (e. g. enlarged cultivation of vegetables or other labor-consuming cultivations) which have not been done before or were done to a smaller extent. Although the consequences of each of these factors are definite, only their mutual proportions alow to define whether in the present situation the process of extensification or of intensification of agriculture will occur, how far and of what character. It is creating the base to forecast other social effects e. g. change in the farmers attitudes to the market and financial problems, changes in the system of values accepted by peasants, changes in the relations within a family and between siblings.

Keeping in mind interdependences between the changes caused by each of the two factors, many hypotheses could be formulated: that the influence of industrialization through the labor market leads to heterogenization of socio-professional structure in the rural community, increasing the number of families making their living of jobs that are not functionally connected with agriculture and rural life. On the other hand the influence of industrialization through the goods market leads to a different direction of changes in socio-professional structure and causes the socio-professional differentiation within group of farmers, and creates specialized groups of professions functionally connected with rural life and agriculture. Consequently, a hypothesis could be formulated that the first type leads to polarization of social mobility pattern connected with migration to industry or to industrial trades while the second type creates polarization of the patterns of social mobility in the framework of farming. Secondary social effects of changes caused by each of these types of industrialization could be also contrary, convergent, complementary or neutral in relation to each other (for example in the field of improvement of communal services and a respective professional differentiation).

A few other hypotheses could be made on effects of the educational level and problems connected with the cultural life in a community. The first factor (or the first of the industrialization types mentioned here) causes an outflow of better educated youth of higher cultural activity from the village. A certain increase of educational level of a village community (throught peasants – workers category or a general growth of the level of education) is usually insignificant. The second factor is directly connected with an increase of productive-vocational qualifications of farmers, which is to be achieved without the growth in general knowledge and cultural level. A comparison of situation in a community inhabited mainly by peasants – workers (the community under the influence of industrialization coming through labor market) and a community where an intensification of agricultural production is taking place, proves that the consequences of each of these factors may be contrary in this sphere[17].

The picture is similar when an analysis of mutual assistance among farmers and, what's more, creation of close relation in the frame of the neighborhood is being undertaken although it is undoubtedly only one of the elements defining the integration or disintegration processes in rural communities.

The hypothesis on social effects of industrialization in rural communities formulated here as an example should not make anybody believe that this is an one-sided interaction. Rural examples have been chosen here intentionally as they are the author's experience. It is obvious, however, that the subject for analysis may also be the impact of an industrialization type on urban community or an rural-urban interaction.

Analysis of functional ties between agriculture and industry leads to researches on social effects of industrialization in at least three different directions or three different levels. Different effects of industrialization in different countries or regions according to the structure of industry defining the proportions of influence via labor market or goods market, confronted with the characteristics of agriculture in a given country or its region, may be the subject of research. Different proportions of the influences of industry reaching the community by any of these channels may cause (when confronted with this community characteristics) different or even contrary social effects being reflected also in desintegration or integration processes taking place within the community. Finally, the delimitation of regions being under influence of industrialization, according to the dominating factor and also influenced by the processes of social changes could be the subject. Consequently, also the directions or character. For example, a comparison between region of Stalowa Wola (heavy industry) and region of Milejów (processing plant) might be extremely useful in programming of such a research.

While mentioning those three directions or levels of analysis on the variety of social effects of industrialization one does not deny the possibility that they would lead according to its structure determining functional relations between agriculture and industry, to statements that could be expressed in a more general form and applied both to analyse changes within a country or region and a small community, or – in other words – they might be applied to define both the integration processes of some local communities and disintegration process of others.

An indispensable element of these generalizations will not be only the characteristics of the industrialization type and channels of influence of industrialization, but also the characteristics or type of community chosen to study the industrialization effects.

TYPES OF RURAL COMMUNITIES – CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH SOCIAL EFFECTS IF INDUSTRIALIZATION ARE REALIZED

The interdependence between the character of industrialization and the character of community in which it arises and which it transforms has been already pointed out. The dependence is obviously bilateral, some types of industrialization cannot be realized immediately, and on a large scale, for example, with lack of specialized staff or at least persons possessing the necessary general knowledge to start specialized studies. Thus, the industrialization furthers evolutionarly creating the conditions of its developoment i. e. transforming the society and changing its character. This statement refers to larger communities, e. g. country communities, and it could be expected that industrialization there of any of the described types is going to bring various social effects, depending on the community character (region, or small local group) which it influences.

It will be easier for the author to discuss this matter taking rural communities as an example[18]. Even the demographic and economic character of a village community has its significance. In a village of a considerable splitting up of farm units and an overpopulation, industrialization acting through the labour market will be of stronger influence evoking migration increase or enlarging the number of peasant-workers. The stimuli for a farm intensification will be received more willingly where the economic conditions are better, it means a suitable agrarian structure, soil proper farming equipment or, a level of agricultural knowledge enabling at least a start. If the type of industrialization gives priority to some incentives, it can be expected that even unfavourable conditions will be adapted to that kind of influence. Thus, in the case of predominating of the products' market operating in the villages with the dominance of split up farm unit, along with the attitude of same peasant families to follow intense production trends that could be performed even of the smallest acre (lot). Such a process will be accompanied by a land concentration in hands of better equipped farmers, and then on the other hand by the process of proletarization of families on the dwarf farms, having no means or abilities to undertake intensive production. If the influence of industry via labour market becomes dominating an adaptation in community with a majority of larger farms and very often with lack of labour resources, will be difficult. However, the same development of agriculture would be observed via extensive production, accompanied by technical modernization, enlargment of the farms or partial split up of large farms and settling of part-time families on the parcels created in such way. In various communities the processes created by industrialization and connected with compliance or divergence of conditions and incentives, are not limited to demographic and economic changes only. It results in transformations of the social structure, popularization of a different model of social careers, different directions in changes of family patterns (mainly through the changes in its productive functions), different attitudes towards education, culture etc.

Nevertheless, these effects could be more easily foreseen and although their variations are not yet satisfactorily studied; accumulation of monographic studies should in due course allow some hipotheses leading to new research. However, the sociologists would be interested most in the changes of the system of accepted values and the strenght of ties in the rural community. To investigate these probleme the distinction of "traditional" and "modern" types of rural community[19] are often used. These terms are perhaps not the best because of their ambiguity. Valuable in their meaning is the natural or marketing (market) character of agriculture as well as the degree of social and cultural isolation of the local group. Since both qualities could be graded many villages of different grades and their different structure, could be distinguished. The result of the natural or market-monetary system of farming connected with the degree of social isolation of the local group, is expressed for instance, in the attitude respect to so the land. In case of the first type a relatively stronger intensity of natural farming qualities and the socio-isolated local group the land is considered a basic condition of the family existence, the ownership of land and quality of owned land determines the position of the family within the community alternatives of settlement beyond farming or the local community are known vaguely or just not known at all. The land has no market value, it is not sold, not because of a quite special irrational sentiment, but because a lack of experience that would permit the alternative of a different kind of life. Land ownership in its formal (legal) sense can be more or less defined, but the basic factor is that the family has the right to use inherited land. It may happen that each family has some abstract part of meadow or forest, but they would not be able to indicate, which part it is, as it is used as a common due to the terrain characteristics[20]. Models of farming of using the land are standards of behavior rigorously observed and controlled in such a community. This undoubtedly creates difficulties for introducing innovations and at the same time creates definite demands and possibilities of mutual activities.

The attitude towards the land, specific for this type of community (there is no point in defining the other as they are opposite) implies a definite way of farming. The objective of farming is indicated by the uniformed or only slightly differentiated needs of the family. Accumulation of material values (apart from the land) is not possible on a larger scale, because of the undurability of products preserving facilities and it is not socially rewarded, either working in order to accumulate material values, taking advantage of every moment in order to increase the substance, economizing on products being in abundance, and other virtues of that kind created by market (monetary) relations would be in this case absurd. The incentives forming such attitudes can reach acceptance only when the family existence has its support beyond the local group.

The relation between the natural character of farming and the social isolation of local community as well as the consequences of this combination for the system of social values accepted by the group, is obviously only one of the main factors shaping the features of the community. Functioning of this mechanism is not automatic. The developed market relations may not break through the social isolation, of the village if it is conditioned by other factors: religious, language, national. It is possible to find a village with developed market (monetars) relations, and accompanying respective attitudes where strong group ties are maintained (for instance the opposition between own people and strangers)[21]. The influence of these factors should be considered in hypotheses even if such phenomena could only accidentally occur on a larger scale within one country.

Thinking on social effects of industrialization in distinguished here types of rural communities (the second of which can be considered a product of earlier industrialization) we ought to return to the question: which kind of industrialization has been based upon an increase of employment with production as leading mechanism, being realized mainly through the labor market – it could be then expected that this industrialization will act destructively on both distinguished systems of cultural values, mentioned here ("natural" and "market"), and also on the level of the integration of the local group. Nevertheless, in the first case (first of the rural community types distinguished here) the changes would not be substantial. Because of the traditional way of farming and attitudes connected with it, this industrialization do not introduce contradictional ideas, they are foreign at the most, but could coexist with old ones – determining behaviour on different grounds and different environment (for example, during working hours in industrial plants). Which is more, the patterns of rural behavior can penetrate through migration and earnings, the urban areas. This coexistence of the traditional system of cultural values, and patterns of behavior connected with industrialization can be maintained also in the conditions of reorganization of agriculture (e. g. collectivization) and which is more such a reorganization could find approval. Such a type of industrialization does not bring any alternative models (with the exeption that accompanying ideologies would be accepted in the village), that could be realized on the basis of a rural community. It could, in fact, result in more or less advanced social disorganization and weakening of social control in the local group, since the cultural values accepted in it can no longer pretend to be exclusive, as part of the families find a basis for their existence outside the local group or part of the families social existence in the village, is just leaving it.

In the second type of community, the form of industrialization described here, would cause more substantial results. Since it does not stimulate the market or consumption, it makes the values acknowledged before questionable or absurde. On this grounds a conflict could arise where the rural group could appear as a more integrated one, it could also be destroyed by the reorganization activities or some serious social desorganization.

In conditions of opposite types of industrialization, the reactions will be different in both types of communities. In the first type of community a quick adaptation of new values, may take place but at the same time chances of success would be different for individual families as a result a rapid social polarization and serious social conflicts can be expected. In the second system of material culture distinguished here, industrialization effects will find a receptive ground, since incentives for consumption, labour productivity, intensification and modernization of the farms are being supported by a system of already accepted values[22]. Rational and developed forms of cooperation could be established also, on basis of economic development, nevertheless the contacts with super local institutions will dominante which will result probably in desintegration of the local group with the simultaneous integration processes taking place on a different level. Although this type of industrialization refers to already existing values, disintegration of local groups can be accompanied by serious symptoms of social disintegration.

Rural communities have been shown here as examples. The regional or national communities being under the influence of a definite type of industrialization could be the proper subject of analysis.

The problem is to notice the factors indicating the different characteristics of these communities which modify the effects of industrialization and influence its features. A thing that seems important, is to realize the very existance of these factors designating distinguished characteristics of communities, modifying effects of industrialization and influencing its qualities. Distinguishing of such factors requires many empirical tests for a more precise definition, and it will make sense providing its usefullness in formulation of verified hypotheses, made to compare results of industrialization in various national communities, or for research on results of industrialization in a given country.

Suggestions of such hypotheses have been made in course of a discussion connected with distinguishing of certain types of industrialization. These are only exemplary proposals. A more synthetic study is above the possibilities of this article, as social effects of industrialization can be found in many fields of sociological studies. Here, the intention, was only to introduce distinctions useful in constructing such hypotheses. As it could be easily counted, the total of distinctions mentioned here make possible a construction of thirty two different structures. In fact, the quantity of such structures is less numerous, particularly within one country. In this country, for instance, assuming one type of industrialization as adequate, some differences can be expected, depending on the ways of influence and of community it reaches. Even such a limited utilization of the types of industry proposed here, should be useful to start a research system enabling to accumulate knowledge on this subject.

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TYPES AND FORMS OF INDUSTRIALIZATION AND RURAL SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

(The Polish Experience)

The concept of industrialization denotes a process, a complex of interdependent technical, economic and organizational changes. The changes consist of the growth and development of enterprises occupied with the extraction and processing of raw materials and the manufacture of commodities. This in turn, is based on objectified labour in the form of mechanization and automation of production in plants operating on the principle of a complex internal division of labour.[1] According to J. Szczepański, industrialization is the basic method of economic growth and social transformation in socialist countries.[2]

Poland has been transformed in the post World War II period from a peasant-agricultural country into a medium industrialized one of advanced urbanization. In his scheme of 10 levels, or degrees, of industrialization and urbanization, L. Reissman puts Poland among the top three, alongside Canada, Hungary and Italy.[3]

Hence, the Polish experience may serve as an empirical basis for considerations and generalizations on the effects of various types, trends and phases of industrialization on socio-economic development of the rural areas and agriculture.

Observation and analysis of the process in Poland indicate two principal types of industrialization: I – development of the industries producing means of production; and II – expansion of the industries producing means of consumption, the food processing industries. However, the effect of industrial growth on the village and agriculture is not uniform or unidirectional, but is subject to modifications depending on regional characteristics. This is why we distinguish in the first type of industrialization: 1) industrialization in urbanized and traditionally industrial regions (and villages) and 2) industrialization in underdeveloped agricultural regions. Type I. 2 in further subdivided into large scale industrialization (creation of entire industrial regions), I. 2a, and small scale industrialization (location of small factories) I. 2b. This is not an exhaustive typology but it embraces the correlations of industrializa-

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tion and its social and partly economic consequences observed in Polish sociological research.[4]

From another point of view the industrialization can be devided into two types: the extensive industrialization and the intensive one. Extensive industrialization denotes industrialization at a relatively low technical level and maximum employment. In intensive industrialization the growth of the national income is effected by technical progress, improved organization, rise in the overage skills of crews and by the increase of the real labour input. Those two types of industrialization may be treated as two stages or two periods of industrialization in a given area.

INDUSTRIALIZATION BY DEVELOPMENT OF MEANS OF PRODUCTION INDUSTRIES

In the first postwar years, especially during the Six Year Plan (1950 – 1955), Poland's industrialization conditioned the growth of other branches of the national economy, including the industries producing means of consumption. The machine-building, structural-steel, electrical, rolling-stock, metallurgical, and partly the chemical industry, developed at a particularly rapid tempo. The rate of growth of industrial production amounted to 16.2 per cent in that period.[5] By 1946 – 1963 industrial employment had increased by 3 times over the previous period and by 2.5 times as compared to 1938/39. The gross value of industrial output rose by 15 times during 1946 – 1965.[6]

The growth of the industries producing the means of production, as well as of other branches, causes the following two main consequences:

1. The absolute and relative decline of employment in agriculture, where overpopulation was estimated at 6 – 8 million (about $^1/_5 - ^1/_6$ of the national population). In 1931, 73.2 per cent of the population lived in the rural areas, while agricultural employment absorbed 60 per cent of the employed population. The shift of a part of the population from agriculture to other divisions of production of a higher labour productivity caused a rise in the national and personal income, and in the demand for agricultural produce. This meant overcoming economic stagnation and a state of psychological depression and uncertainty, especially among the rural population.

The mechanism operating there consisted primarily in the fact that the first phase of industrialization in Poland was marked by the need for extensive development, i. e., was based first of all on the growth of employment on a rather low technical level. The population which shifted to industry turned out a larger product than it would have in agriculture, since there the productivity of the marginal part of that population was equal to zero. The increased production attained by the population which had been shifted from agriculture effected a rise in the productivity of the national economy as a whole and in the national income.[7]

2. Another effect of the development of industries providing means of production was to stimulate agricultural production for the market and the professionalization of the individual farmer's vocation. Although in the first phase accumulation for industrial growth had to come in good part from agriculture, it, nevertheless, benefited from industrialization, both by being relieved of the excess population and by being assured of a supply of agricultural machinery and equipment.

Industrialization thus created conditions – and even exerted pressur – for the farmer who purchased industrial means of production pesticides or high quality agricultural articles, and who produced for the market in order to obtain the necessary financial means to cover his obligations and make his purchases. All these changes cause the agricultural population's purchasing power to rise and the increase its role as a consumer of industrial articles. The work of the farmer becomes professionalized and he consequently produces definite kinds of crops, instead of raising by himself everything needed by the family.

This beneficial effect of industrialization, especially based on the development of the means of production, depends on the fulfillment of at least the following three conditions:

1. That the boundary line is not crossed in utilizing manpower from agriculture, where the labourer does not produce more in industry than in agriculture.
2. That agriculture is supplied with adequate means of production required to replace the diminished labour power.
3. That housing, services and facilities are provided to that extent that the level of living of migrants to the city is not lower than it was in the country.[8]

The course of Poland's industrialization during the Six Year Plan (1950 – 1955) caused a certain unbalance in the structure of industrial development, expressed in over-investment in the machine-building industry and under-investment in agriculture and in the country's infrastructure. This is why adjustments were made in 1955-1959 and in the following Six Year Plan (1960 – 1965), when investment expenditures were raised in light industry, in food processing, chemical and power industries, etc. It was then possible to make the transition to intensive industrialization.[9]

It is thus important for countries aiming at economic growth and social development by means of accumulation in agriculture and extensive industrialization to go over at the appropriate time from the predominant development of the means of production to a balanced structure of industrial expansion, from accumulation to investment in agriculture, from extensive to intensive industrialization.

The above considerations suggest two mechanisms of the influence of industrialization on rural and agricultural socio-economic development: a) by shifting excess agricultural population to industry, and b) by transforming farming from a self-sufficient base to one of market relations and partial specialization. But a broader and more detailed analysis of the mechnisms of the influence of industrialization must bear in mind its regional differentiation, for Polish sociologists have noticed that the effects of industrialization differ on the basis of specific regional socio-economic characteristics.

"ORGANIC" INDUSTRIALIZATION IN SOCIALLY AND TECHNICALLY DEVELOPED AND HIGHLY URBANIZED REGIONS

J. Ziółkowski deals with that type of region based on the example of Poznań and its surrounding region. Many new plants were built and many old ones were expanded in that city of half a million inhabitants (situated in the western part of the country), which doubled its population during 1946–1970. Its degree of industrialization is indicated by the highest index of industrial employment: 205 employed in industry per 1000 inhabitants. "Poznań has for the first time in its history become a working class city, a city where virtually half the inhabitants are connected directly with industrial production".[10]

Research conducted in Poznań and several neighbouring districts established that – contrary to the propositions of sociological literature (which underlined the great social costs of industrialization and the emergence of phenomena of social pathology), the course of industrialization has preceeded in that region without shocks, losses or social disorganization. In the first place, the emigrant population from the rural area has been integrated and adapted to the paterns city life. No signs of social pathology, disorganization and rise of crime, characteristics of industrialization and urbanization processes, have appeared there. Nor are any negative consequences evident for the villages and agriculture.

Sociologists explain the "organic" course of industrialization in that area by the fact that the rural and small town population there was on a higher level of urbanization than in other parts of the country. Agriculture there, although of the classical character, was on a higher cultural level, The influences of industrialization and urban civilization were stronger and appeared earlier historically (for example, agricultural machinery, had already been applied in that part of the country in the middle of the 19th century). Moreover, the handicrafts were developed and the tradition of nonagricultural occupations was widespread. The food processing industry was developed early in result of which agricultural production attained a higher level and the "industrial tradition" arose. The infrastructure: railway communications, roads, electrification, sanitary installations, brick-building construction, was on a higher level there. The general educational level of the farming population was also higher in that part of the country, since elementary, vocational and agricultural schooling had been introduced earlier. Another factor which assured "organic" industrialization in this region is intrinsic to the city of

Poznań itself. It has retained in its organization of social life the characteristics of a provincial urban centre, personal relations, developed neighboury and district contacts by the local community. These traits facilitated the adaptation of the immigrant population to city life.[11]

A similar influence of industrialization on the socio-economic development of the village and of agriculture is observable in other parts of Poland. We have in mind zones which were not so much urbanized socially and technically as highly developed in respect of employment outside agriculture, i.e. the handicrafts and home industry, in the period preceding the post-war accelerated industrialization. The sociologists E. Pietraszek and W. Kwaśniewicz indicate the existence in the Cracow area of many villages with working class populations.[12] The Cracow district has a very high proportion of villages where the inhabitants have their homes and garden plots and do not devote themselves exclusively to farming, but are employed off the farm. Villages inhabited exclusively, or almost exclusively, by workers and minor officials are highly integrated. Public opinion there persists as a mechanism of social control and exist strong ties among the inhabitants. Their population is characterized by a high degree of public activity expressed through various organizations and associations, as well as common undertakings, such as in building roads, cultural centres, schools, etc.

The agriculture is concentrated on gardening and vegetable raising and is characterized by intensive production. The larger farms, which have remained in these workers' villages, are also developing rapidly under the pressure of the demand created by the local market.

A similar phenomenon of the transformation of almost entire village population into workers is observable in the industrialized districts of Silesia where industrialization is proceeding. The above determinations make it possible to define the conditions in which industrialization proceeds in the socially most desirable manner.

"LARGE" INDUSTRIALIZATION IN AGRICULTURAL REGIONS

Polish industrialization is characterized by the growth of the number of large plants. In 1965 more than 65 per cent of industrial employment fell to plants of over 500 workers and 48 per cent to those employing over 1000.[13] In the first years industrialization was carried out by establishing industrial agglomerations. This was due to the uneven location of raw material deposits, the factors of mass production and the attractiveness of big cities for that purpose. The concentration of industry in large cities induced their sharp growth. This is shown by the fact that the big city populations trebled during 1946–1965 and constituted 21.1 per cent of the country's total in 1965.[14] In 1960 the country's "large" industrialization had to extend beyond the big cities. The phase hence commences of large scale industrialization in agricultural areas often retarded in development.

The process of technological concentration in industry and the desire to the equal distribution of the productive forces led to building up large plants in agricultural areas and to developing the so called industrial regions around them, where the effects of the location of these plants are most intensive. Many such intensively industrialized regions arose in Poland and they are subjected to complex research by the Committee for Research of Industrial Regions under the Polish Academy of Sciences. Among them are the Płock region with its huge petrochemical combine, the Puławy region with its nitrogen plant, the Konin, Tarnobrzeg, and Lubin – Głogów regions.

We call this type (based on big plants industrialized regions) "large industrialization". Another type is the location of small factories in the rural areas and not in large, medium or new towns.

Research on these two types revealed many specific characteristics of their influence. Let us take first the influence of large industrialization and industrialized regions on the village and agriculture. This type effects the professional structure of the population which shifts to the newly built housing settlements in part, while others travel to work in the new industrial plants or engage in dual occupations. The commissioning of industrial plants results as a rule in the emergence of a category of people engaged in two vocations, the so-called part-time farmers. This category combines farming with employment outside agriculture. In 1968 about 1 million rural inhabitants (heads of families) were employed off the farm. Besides, 500000 to 700000 numbers of peasant families worked outside agriculture in the same year.[15] Overall, part-time farmers constitute $^1/_4 - ^1/_3$ of all families operating farms of various sizes. This is by no means an exclusively Polish phenomenon, 20 per cent of all farmers in USA, 51 per cent in Jugoslavia, 43 per cent in the German Federal Republic are part-time farmers.[16]

The part-time farmer phenomenon rose in large proportions only after World War II. There has been a wide discussion in agricultural and sociological literature on the influences of this category on the changes undergone by agriculture and the peasant population. The influence of dual occupation on the character of farming has been a subject of special interest. Three points (of view) on this question may be distinguished. The first stresses the resulting extensification of farming and the second – its intensification. As formulated by A. Woś, part-time farmers, under the influence of gainful employment in industry, begin to valorize their work and therefore intensify also their farming.[17] According to the third proposition there is no uniform and unidirectional influence of the individual farmers dual occupation on the intensification of their farms, since a whole number of variables operate there which modify that influence.

Research establishes a similar output value per ha of arable land in the up to 2 ha group both for full-time and part-time farmers. An investigation of full-time and part-time farmer owners of larger farms, indicates that the longer the duration of combining farming with employment off the farm the more do the output results approximate those of full-time farmers. It was observed in the Plock region, for instance, that the output of farmers with dual-occupation in villages where a considerable proportion of the population are employed outside agriculture is higher than in villages with a lower proportion of the latter category. This is probably because the villages with a lower proportion of employed are more distant from industrial plants and regular travels to work require more time.[18]

On the other hand in villages near industrial plants or towns with a higher proportion of inhabitants traveling to work there is formed an atmosphere of stabilization and not of temporariness and waiting to move to the city, which undoubtedly encourages investment in the farms. All this shows that the influence of dual occupation on the intensification of farming depends on many microstructural factors, such as age, for instance. As was found in Plock and Pulawy regions, when the part-time farmers were young and active, their farming was intensive. The influence in question depends further on the size of the family, location of the village and its tradition of agrarian culture, the degree of diffusion of agricultural innovations and of the development of local organizations and institutions.[19] It was further ascertained that production extensification ensues on farms where there is an efflux of young people and there are no legal heirs to take them over. It is estimated that 10 per cent of farms have no legal heirs. It should be noted that various measures have been taken to secure these farms successors in the future and an elaborate plan has been adopted (beginning with 1971) for the mechanization of individual farms in the spheres of production, yard work and transport.

The part-time farmer category also played an important role in rebuilding the class and strata structure of the Polish country. It led to the elimination of the landless, day labourers' and small farmers' strata by transforming them into workers with two sources of income. It thus changed their status in relation to the owners of larger farms (purely agricultural families). The dependence of the landless peasants upon the owners of bigger farms was broken. The part-time farmer strata became at the same time the bearer of city patterns of life and system of values in the rural areas.[20]

The above referred research on industrialized regions examined the various aspects of change effected in the industrialized regions by large plants. In particular there was studied the question of adaptation of the migrant rural population to city life and to work in industry as well as the problem of adaptation by those who travel to work in factories. For the proposition has become quite current in sociological literature regarding the existence of a correlation between industrialization and urbanization (on a national or regional scale) on the one hand, and the rise of phenomena of social pathology, on the other. W. E. Moore regards this correlations as a fixed law of industrialization processes.[21]

Polish research indicate that this proposition applies only to large industrial regions emerging in retarded agricultural areas. J. Szczepański notes further that research on the social consequences of the location of large industrial plants should distinguish 4 stages: the pre-investment stage, the construction stage and the stages of commissioning and exploitation.[22] The research in Plock region, Nowa Huta, the Puławy, and Konin regions and the micro-regions of the new industrial towns nearly Lublin[23] established that phenomena of social pathology appear in the second stage (in the construction stage of large plants). In that period the town or settlement where the plant is being located is not prepared for its new role and is not in a position to master all the processes this involves: transport and communication, requirements of housing, communal facilities, institutions, etc. The adaptation processes only commenced in that period and the building construction crews constitute a temporary population group. They live in industrial regions or centres but since they work at construction sites away from home for long periods they are separated from their families, neighbours and friends. Those who travel to work from rural areas are in a somewhat similar situation. The social vacum in which a large part of this immigrant population finds itself in is accented by the workers hostels in which they live.

The processes of stabilization and adaptation are accelerated in the stage of commissioning industrial plants. Those processes proceed more rapidly among young people as among those who migrated to work with their families or who married a city dweller. Moreover, the more rapid and complete the occupational adaptation, the fuller is the adaptation to the city environment.[24]

True, there is still an appreciable proportion in the first years after an industrial plants was commissioned who feel themselves transitory, temporary travellers to work and temporary residents. But even then the bulk of the population feel permanently attached to the plant and the city and it is they who give the normal tone to daily life. Urban institutions develop or change in this period, while the population takes a hand in the creation of the conditions and facilities of a common life in town. All Polish research conducted in large industrialized regions, new cities or intensively industrialized small towns confirm these processes of stabilization and of overcoming such phenomena as disorganization, crime, alcoholism, etc.

"SMALL" INDUSTRIALIZATION

As indicated above, the term "small industrialization" designates the location of small factories far from cities or large industrial centres which carry on small scale production not directly connected with agriculture. A. Olszewska deals with this type of industrialization. She describes the influence of such a factory located in a village of Silesian Opole on the socio-economic development of the village and agriculture.[25] The findings of this case-study may be generalized for similarly industrialized agricultural areas. The research establishes that although production in the investigated factory was not connected with agriculture, its crews came mainly from the village inhabitants. The village itself became urbanized and the population's level of living considerably rose owing to the phenomenon of dual occupation. It's socio-occupational structure was thus transformed. The acquisition of trades and constant employment raised the value of work and qualification as a criterion of prestige, while the social position of the working class population improved considerably.

The pattern of life changed. This was expressed, among other things, in the permeation of new ways of spending leisure time: attending the local cinema, group trips to the theatre in the neighbouring large city, excursions, vacationing in local health resorts, etc.

It was furthermore established that the local community became more integrated. The impact of the local community on the factory is expressed, among other things, in the fact that crew composed mainly of women introduce there certain customs and habits, such as chanting religious songs during work, etc. Inter-personal relations in the plant are consolidated by the customs and moral norms accepted as obligatory by the local community. Hence cases of theft or neglect of work are isolated incidents. Even the factory management is subject to the pressure of local community opinion. The organization of the factory, its norms and system of values are to a certain degree subordinated to the village collectivelly, although they are themselves modified under the influence of the factory.

The characteristics of small industrialization point to its greater social utility and different course than the industrialization form discussed above. It should be noted too that both purely agricultural families and those of dual occupation show rapid progress of agriculture, since the inhabitants of the respondent villages are not inclined to leave their localities. On the contrary, they cooperate in expanding and modernizing communal facilities in order to convert the village into an agricultural little town. The income from employment off the farm is directed to investment not only in the household and in rising living standards but also in the farm.

INDUSTRIALIZATION BY MEANS OF DEVELOPING THE FOOD PROCESSING INDUSTRY

Polish sociologists distinguish the development of the food processing industry as another industrial trend. This trend ran paralled with the first but at a slower tempo in the early years of industrialization and more rapidly as the development of the means of production industries progressed. This is shown by the investment expenditures. Thus investment in the food processing industry stood in sixth place as compared to other branches of industry in 1956 and in fourth place by 1966. And in the latter years the number of plants this sphere amounted to 14198 out of the total of 41479 plants in the socialized sector of industry. While the gross output of these plants amounted to 150849 million zlotys as compared to the total value of gross industrial production of 784425 million zlotys (in comparative prices). They employed 435000 workers out of the total of 3785500 in socialized industry.[26]

The above data show that the food processing industry plays an important role in creating the national income. It exerts a manifold influence on the social and economic development of the village and of agriculture. Its transformative role is demonstrated in research conducted in the Milejów region in Lublin voivodeship where fruit and vegetable processing plants were located.[27]

A food processing plant influences the neighbouring region in at least three ways. First, by employing part of the population thus raising its income and standard of living. Secondly, as an organizer, contractor and purchaser of agricultural produce who requires qualified labour and specialization in fruit and vegetable production. To meet these requirements the farmers must raise their qualification by studying and reading agrotechnical literature. They must rationalize production and introduce progressive agrotechnical innovations on their farms. All this involves the process of professionalization of the individual farmer's vocation, regarding the farm as an enterprise geared completely to the market. The processing plant participates in this by means of schooling and instruction as well as supervision exercised by the agricultural service of the factory.

The consequences of the changes are manifold and find expression in the transformation of the local community's organization. The formation of agricultural unions and associations is hastened, which effects the reintegration of the local community. Links are thus established between the agricultural-industrial and rural-urban region (of which the centre is the industrial-agricultural settlement) and the factory which becomes the centre of sociocultural life. Hence the emergence of an industrial plant and the grouping around it of an urban type settlement acting as a social, cultural and political centre influences also the neighbouring villages.

However a link between an agricultural area (raw material base) and one industrial plant (exerting such a cumulative influence) is possible in the case of fruit or vegetable processing plants and dairies but becomes diluted in the case of other branches of the food processing industry. Nevertheless the influence, though in different forms, applies also when the plant is not directly connected with a given agricultural area. This pertains to such industrial plants as sugar refineries, potato-starch processing or tobacco plants, etc. For in these cases the industrial plant influences the village and agriculture by creating a demand for given types of crops. At the same time it conducts courses and provides instruction through its agrotechnical service, acts as a professional advisor and distributor of means of production (seed, pesticides, etc). All this also promotes the professionalization of the individual farmer and the creation of professional organizations.

This role is appreciated by political leaders and economists.[28] Economists maintain, for instance, that large industrial investments do not have as strong, integrative and transforming impact on the structure and specialization of agricultural production as do food processing plants. They at the same time point to the economic benefits of the even distribution of such plants.[29]

An investigation of the Tarnobrzeg industrial region leads J. Kubica to the conclusion that "... the food processing industry exerts a much stronger influence on changes in the cultivation structure than do units of other industrial branches (including a sulphuric acid combine) with much greater output value, employment levels, etc".[30] While S. Misztal, in his book on the distribution of industrial investment in Poland, reaches the conclusion that the expansion of food processing plants in agricultural areas is the way to ease the disproportion in the distribution of industry over the country.[31] There is a controversy, whether the industrialization by the development of the industries producing means of production or the industrialization by the production of consummers' goods should be preferable. According to the Polish experience the period-stage of more investments in the "key" ("A") industries is necessary and only later the consumers' goods and service's industries can be more intensively developed. It is a real problem, how to keep at the beginning of industrialization the proper proportion between the development of those two types of industries and after that stage how to keep equilibrium between them.

CONCLUSION

Empirical research on social change in Poland in connection with accelerated industrialization following World War II were developed. This research suggests the distinction (inductively) of the following types of industrialization:

Industrialization by means of developing the industries providing means of production was expressed first in its extensive, then in its intensive form. The first was applied in Poland in the first years of launching the country's economic growth. Industrialization then begins to influence agriculture and the village by the employment of redundant manpower to stimulate the peasants to produce for the market and to professionalize their vocation. This type of industrialization assumes the form of "organic" industrialization if it takes place on technically and socially more highly urbanized agricultural areas or if these areas are characterized by industrial traditions.

"Large industrialization" – consists of the location of big industrial plants in economically retarded agricultural areas. Many such large industrialized regions were created in Poland. Complex research in such regions indicates (despite Moore's thesis) that disorganization and social pathology appear only in the period of construction of the industrial plants and disappear later on. Then follow processes of stabilization and adaptation of the people.

The so-called "small" industrialization consists in the location of small factories in the rural areas and in the development of the food processing industry (reverse of industrialization by means of development of the means of production.

The last two types of industrialization effect the most desirable social consequences.

The type (stage) of industrialization (extensive or intensive) should agree with the level of the general development of a given country. In the case of the underdeveloped countries the extensive industrialization ought to be introduced because of a low level of education and lack of technological "know-how". On the other hand this type of industrialization causes the full employment and it is the startpoint of many changes in social structure and living standard of the people.

REFERENCE NOTES

1. The concept "industrialization" is variously defined. According to the *International Encyclopaedia of Social Science* (vol. 7, N. Y. 1968, p. 263): "Industrialization in the the production of economic goods and services..." Economists emphasize the economic content of this process and point out that it is effected by the constant increase of the rates of investment and industrial production expressed in the growth of the share of industry in the national income and national wealth, in the rise of employment, labour productivity, etc. See J. Ozdowski: *Proces industrializacji w Polsce po II wojnie światowej* (*The Process of Industrialization in Poland after World War II*), „Zeszyty Naukowe KUL", No. 2 (1962). J. Szczepański notes that "... the expansion of industry is the essence of all industrialization which is hence a complex of technical and economic processes accompanied by social, political and cultural processes..." See J. Szczepański: *Społeczne aspekty industrializacji w Polsce Ludowej* (*The Social Aspects of Industrialization in the Polish Peoples Republic*), in: *Socjologiczne problemy industrializacji w Polsce Ludowej* (*Sociological Problems of Industrialization in the Polish Peoples Republic*, Warszawa 1967, p. 7.
2. Szczepański: *op. cit.*, p. 32.
3. L. Reissman: *The Urban Process*, N. Y. 1964, p. 207.
4. A typology of the influence of industrialization on the development of the village and agriculture is very difficult to formulate. For one thing the very types of industrialization and its directions differ. Then its influence is modified by the of the local community. This is why our typology departs from the distinctions made by authors concerned with the investigation of the social consequences of industrialization. Typologies of industrialization were also made by B. Gałęski: *Typy uprzemysłowienia* (*Types of Industrialization*), „Studia Socjologiczne", No. 1, 1967 and R. Turski: *Przemysł a przemiany wsi* (*Industry and Rural Change*), in: *Przemysł i słoleczeństwo w Polsce Ludowej* (*Industry and Society in the Polish Peoples Republic*), Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków 1969, pp. 344 – 372.
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8. H. Herer: *Rolnictwo a rozwój gospodarki narodowej* (*Agriculture and the Development of the National Economy*), Warszawa 1962.

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11. *Ibidem.*

1 E. Pietraszek: *Wieś robotnicza* (*The Workers' Village*), Wrocław 1969; W. Kwaśniewicz: *Wiejska społeczność rzemieślnicza w procesie przemian* (*The Rural Handicrafts Community in the Process of Changes*), Wrocław 1970.

13. Misztal: *op. cit.*, p. 126.

14. *Statystyka miast i osiedli 1945 – 1965* (*City and Settlement Statistics 1945 – 1965*), Warszawa 1967.

15. D. Gałaj: *Ludność dwuzawodowa w strukturze wsi* (*The Population of Dual Occupation in the Rural Structure*), in: *Struktura i dynamika społeczeństwa polskiego* (*The Structure and Dynamics of Polish Society*), Warszawa 1970, p. 311 and following.

16. A. L. Bertrand, Z. T. Wierzbicki: *Socjologia wsi w Stanach Zjednoczonych* (*Rural Sociology in the United States*), Warszawa 1970; *Reports at the Rural Sociology Congress*, Münster 1970.

17. F. Kolbusz: *Wpływ uprzemysłowienia kraju na społeczno-ekonomiczny charakter indywidualnych gospodarstw chłopskich* (*The Influence of the Country's Industrialization on the Character of the Individual Peasant Farm*), Warszawa 1964; A. Woś: *Wpływ uprzemysłowienia na motywy produkcyjnych decyzji chłopów* (*The Influence of Industrialization on the Motivation of Peasants' Production Decisions*), "Zeszyty Badań Rejonów Uprzemysławianych", No. 28, 1964.

18. Gałaj: *op. cit.* and the same author's: *Robotnicy-chłopi wsi płockiej* (*Part-Time Farmers of Płock Villages*), Warszawa 1964.

19. The role of these macro- and microstructural factors is described in: J. Turowski, A. Bornus: *Drogi modernizacji wsi* (*Paths to Village Modernization*), Warszawa 1970.

20. B. Gałęski: *Chłopi a zawód rolnika* (*Peasants and Farming as an Occupation*), Warszawa 1962; M. Dziewicka: *Chłopi-robotnicy* (*Part-Time Farmers*), Warszawa 1963; R. Turski: *Między miastem a wsią* (*Between City and Village*), Warszawa 1965.

21. W. E. Moore: *Social Change*, N.Y. 1963, p. 103.

22. Szczepański, *op. cit.*

23. The reference here is to research findings published in "Zeszyty Badań Rejonów Uprzemysławianych" and to: W. Markiewicz: *Społeczne procesy uprzemysłowienia* (*Social Aspects of Industrialization*), Poznań 1962, p. 274; *Studia socjologiczne i urbanistyczne miast Lubelszczyzny* (*Sociological and Urbanistic Studies of Lublin Province Cities*), ed. J. Turowski, Lublin 1971, p. 303; M. Siemieński: *Z badań nad działalnością kulturalno-oświatową w Nowej Hucie* (*From Research on Cultural-Educational Activity in Nowa Huta*), Warszawa 1971; R. Siemieńska: *Nowe życie w nowym mieście* (*A New Life in a New Town*), Warszawa 1971.

24. See also: *Socjologiczne problemy industrializacji w Polsce Ludowej* (*Social Problems of Industrialization in the Polish Peoples Republic*), ed. J. Szczepański, Warszawa 1967 and: *Proces urbanizacji w Polsce Ludowej* (*The Urbanization Process in the Polish Peoples Republic*), ed. S. Nowakowski, Warszawa 1967.

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RYSZARD TURSKI

CHANGES IN THE RURAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

In the course of many ages the social system formed by private agricultural holdings has proved a surprising ability of an adjustment to changing social and cultural structures. In this permanent and sometimes dramatic process of the adjustement to the non-rural and outside world a rural organization of production and social life has undergone, of course, various transformations. These transformations, however, were taking place gradually and in long cycles and, therefore, they did not modify very much the types of production, agricultural structure and so on. They were rather a permanent element of the passive adaptation of rural culture and economy to the outside world. Generally speaking, these transformations promoted the durability of traditional rural civilization – even in fast growing industrial societies.[1]

In the present stage of modernization processes a trend of changes is primarily of a different character. Agrobiological, technical and economic progress in agriculture of advanced countries is time-concentrated and cumulative. In the past cycles of transformations the traditional system of rural social life was gradually and, in fact, partially modified, but it was able to preserve the configuration of its essential and permanent elements. The present modernization processes of agriculture ruin the principles and functioning of rural life and make it necessary to adjust more actively to the global society. The farmers of almost all advanced countries live under a pressure of necessity of complicated adaptation. It means that the farmers have to adjust to their own rapidly changing and technically modernized work-environment, to market mechanisms, to the new system of social life in the country and to the newly established social values and patterns of behaviour. The range and intensity of the adaptation processes bring about new phenomenon in individual and public life of the country such as the conflicts of values, often occurring together with the inter-generation conflicts, the processes of desintegration of personality, and of various complexes of inferiority towards urban population or more professionally advanced farmers.[2]

Considering the rural social changes in the Peoples' Poland in the last twenty five years we have to point out that these changes had not only an important and great range but were also of an exceptionally complex character and significant impact in the development of the whole society. Namely, in this period there happened the following interdependent processes: the rapid modernization of agriculture correlated with the results of socialist revolution and dynamic processes of industrialization and urbanization in which open and hidden (without leaving the country) migration to non-rural occupations was of great importance. We must also remember that up till these changes Polish country and agriculture had been on a very low level of socio-economic development.

In the pre-war period Polish agriculture was characterized, to a great extent, by a natural, non-market type of economy, that is, by a low share of market production, high indicators of selfconsumption and the use of primitive means and technology of production. Even at that time it was, in comparison to western standards, an anachronistic system of production. It was also a system of an unstable social balance and of a deep structural economic crisis.

F. Bujak, W. Grabski, J. Poniatowski and other economists and sociologists[3] offered detailed analyses of the problem of the size of agricultural holding which would guarantee the peasants' family a minimum of an economic independence and fulfill the basic level of life. Taking into considerations a low level of productivity the mentioned authors calculated the minimal size of such a holding at 5–6 hectares. However, 66.48 per cent of the total number of agricultural holdings was below this size in 1938, and in this group of farmers only some got additional incomes from non-agricultural work. Therefore a great majority of rural population was forced to live below the calculated in the mentioned period minimum level of existence. This catastrophic situation of the pre-war peasantry was thoroughly examined among others by L. Krzywicki, who, in his analysis of the questionnaire results of the Institute of Social Economy (ISE) and of the peasants' diaries wrote: "Undernourishment became a principle..."[4]

The pre-war Poland inherited an exceptionally unfavourable agrarian structure. In 1921 the holdings below 2 hectares constituted almost 30 per cent of all the holdings, and the holdings of 2–5 hectares had the same percentage share. In 1938 the share of the first group increased to 32.9 per cent, and of the second to 33.59 per cent.[5] The result of this negative tendency was the decrease of the size of land per head of rural population from 1105 hectares to 1067 hectares. This process was, of course, a result of the low migration rate from agriculture to other sectors of national economy. In the years 1921–1938 as much as 67 p.c. of the increase of rural population remained in the country and was employed in agriculture (11.1 p.c. emigrated abroad, and 21.9 p.c. to the town)[6].

The decreasing of the average size of holdings and the increase of the rural population were accompanied by obvious overpopulation in the country. W. Grabski estimated in 1929 that hidden unemployment in the country reached 31 p.c. of the rural population, that is about 7 million people.[7] According to J. Poniatowski in 1935 there were 5.3 million of people professionally active but useless from the economic point of view, which together with professionally non-active people constituted 8.8 million.[8] L. Landau, J. Pański and E. Strzelecki in their detailed work based on the ISE data accepted the subjective declaration of one's uselesness in a holding as the basis for their calculation of the over-population in the country. They estimated that a category of people who were completely useless economically (that is those who could have left the village if it were possible) accounted to 2.4 mln in 1935.[9] The unemployment would cover additional 2 mln people if partially useless population was included. The authors showed in their analysis a number of negative results of chronic over-population with a growing tendency to become permanent. For example, they pointed out the higher age of newly married couples, a greater number of people not contracting marriages which in turn interferes proper processes of demographic reproduction; and also widely spread return to primitive means of production and extensive methods of cultivation introduced among others in order to absorb a maximum of labour force even when it led to its low productivity.

There were, however, some positive changes in agriculture and rural life in the pre-war period. One of them was, for example, visible progress in education though unsatisfactory in comparison with such countries as Chechoslovakia and Bulgaria, not speaking about western countries. There were also some attempts to merge little holdings into greater units and to spread out agricultural education particularly in the territories under the former Russian and Austrian occupation (in the territory under the former Prussian occupation educational and cooperative organizations developed much earlier).[7] In some parts of the country new groups of farmers using modern technology could be observed.[10] Undoubtedly, the above mentioned phenomenon had a very limited character and range but they must be seen as introducing important innovations to the rural environment. They were gradually accepted by rural population and became desirable and influencial patterns of behaviour and thus played a positive rôle in the post-war processes of agricultural modernization. It must be also emphasized that the young rural generation began to form a very dynamic social and political movement which aimed at bringing the country out of social and cultural isolation and at giving the peasantry a higher position in society.[11]

However, these positive changes could not fight the economic stagnation in the country and were much weaker than the regressive tendencies. Therefore, in the period immediately preceding the rise of the Peoples' Poland the country was economically in the vicious circle of underdevelopment which it could not break on its own. An inadequate supply of means of production compared to the number of population in the productive age caused a low labour productivity, and its low remunerativeness which in effect led to undernourishment or consumption on an elementary level. Besides, since the emigration to the Western countries was stopped because of the great economic crisis and migration from country to town diminished this basic contradiction in agriculture deepened and its negative results increased. The pre-war village entered such an advanced level of negative cumulative processes that it could not develop economically and socially without the external interference and to merge organically with town and whole society. Such an external intervention with an advanced set of incentives appears in the country together with the social and political revolution and rapid processes of industrialization and urbanization.

The first form of this intervention was undoubtedly the agrarian reform. It had a positive and comprehensive influence on the life of the country. First of all it improved the unfavourable agrarian structure in central Poland. The rural population from these territories obtained through the reform 2384400 hectares, out of which 1890300 hectares belonged to new private holdings and 494100 hectares increased the size of the existing holdings. The whole area was distributed among 347100 new holdings and 254400 extended holdings.[12] As a result of this reform the agrarian structure on these territories was considerably changed. The number of the private holdings below 2 hectares and above 20 hectares decreased and the number of the holdings of 2–5 hectares increased. This process is called by many authors as the "size-levelling" of the country.[13] It was particularly seen in the Great Poland. In 1949 about 70 per cent of medium-sized farms in this region were the holdings which were founded or which extended their area as a result of the agrarian reform.

The land obtained from the reform promoted to a great extent economic activity of the holdings and influenced positively their remunerativeness and led to favourable changes in the distribution of labour force in agriculture. These changes were accompanied by important social processes. The disappearance of the numerous, in the former Poland, landed-aristocracy and also the social groups directly dependent on it as well as revolutionary changes in a social and political system brought about the awakening of the rural masses and created a possibility to participate in the social life of the country and the nation. The traditional inferiority complex of the peasantry towards urban population started to disappeare and a new system of values and aspirations started to function. The representatives of the older generation in the country still consider the social rehabilitation of the peasantry and the end of its isolation and humilation as the greatest achievement of the reform after World War II. K. Dobrowolski summing up the results of the sociological investigation on the changes in social consciousness in the country in the post-war period notices "... very widespread desire to overcome the feudal remnants of the 'subjective' slavery, that is, the feeling of a social inferiority and damages caused by a long degradation of human dignity and setback in contacts with town people. This desire is strictly connected with the will to achieve internal harmony based on the awareness of the peasants' own dignity, of their own values building up good individual and group selfconsciousness".[14]

The next factor contributing to the liquidation of the old negative cumulative processes was migration from country to town and to the Polish western territories. This migration covered in the years 1947–1960 about 160 per cent of the increase of the rural population in the former territory. M. Pohoski comparing the above quoted research results of ISE with those of the Institute of Agricultural Economy established that the migration movement from the farms from the former territories in the years 1945–1957 equaled quantitatively and structurally to the population which in the ISE data was described as useless in agriculture and potentially due to migrate.[15] The extensive migration from country to town and to western territories was, then, a sort of extension of the agrarian reform improving agricultural economy in the former territories. Though the positive influence of the migration on economy was not very considerable (since it absorbed in a minimal way people running farms) it played an important economic and social role in getting rid of useless labour force in the country and of the threat of breaking up of farms. Analogical functions in the processes of breaking the stagnation in the rural area had income-earning of the rural population developed on a great scale in non-agricultural sectors of national economy. The state intervenes actively in the problems of private holdings by developing a well organized system of arrangement which integrates private holdings with the state agricultural economy (contracts between farmers and government for the supply of agricultural products, Agriculture Development Fund, interassociational machinery centres, socialized agricultural service system, etc.). Other forms of the state's intervention included: melioration, building up agricultural industry in the underdeveloped rural environment, connecting isolated micro-regions to the national transport system and legislative measures protecting the agrarian structure and many other forms of assistance.

Thus, due to various forms of the state intervention and awoken activity of the rural population in the new conditions, the village entered the path of a steady economic and socio-cultural development. The peasantry in Poland had been through many ages the object of history but it has become its subject in the last twenty five years of Poland's millennium. In the course of the above mentioned changes the system of social life has undergone, of course, various modifications. In the next part of the present study some of the most significant elements of these modifications will be dealt with, namely, the changes in the socio-occupational structure; the changes in agricultural technology; the contribution of rural population to society's life.

It seems that one of the most general principles of the changes in the rural social system in the People's Poland is that the system is loosing relatively fast individual features and at the same time is obtaining universal ones. The term "individual system of social relations" means such a social order which is based on an assignement of individuals or social groups to strictly defined and essentially settled positions and social roles in the perspective of individual life. On the other hand, the term "universal system of social relations" means such a social order which is based on achieving by individuals or social groups dynamic positions and social roles in the perspective of individual life. These two theoretical models of the systems of social relations constitute one of the important methodological assumptions of the present study.

CHANGES IN THE SOCIO-OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE

Changes in the socio-occupational structure determine considerably the course of socio-cultural changes. Therefore it seems necessary to pay particular attention to the structural changes of the rural society in Poland. Speaking of a rural social structure we mean a set of rural classes and socio-occupational categories and their respective relations and interests.

In sociological literature several schemes of a social structure, to be more precise, of socio-occupational contents of the rural population in our country, have been presented. In our study the starting point is the scheme accepted by IAE (see Table 1). This scheme is not only a theoretical proposal but a practical research tool useful in the analysis of the questionnaires carried out every five year in representative and quantitatively important sample of the rural population. The classification of socio-occupational categories used by the IAE scheme enables to state a level of complexity of the rural social structure. The share of the extreme social class groups (category II – rural proletariat, and category IV – rural semi-proletariat, and on the opposite extreme, category VIII – rural capitalists) is minimal in the total of the rural population. However, it must be pointed out that there exist several clearly formed socio-occupational categories which exclusively, primarily or partly have non-rural sources of income (category III – people essentially without land employed in various non-agricultural sectors of national economy; category V – population employed mainly outside agriculture and only partly in agriculture; category VI – population employed mainly in agriculture and partly outside agriculture). The most numerous group of rural population is represented by category VII – farmers, and thus this group will be examined first and relatively thoroughly.

Table 1

Rural social structure in 1962 (questionnaire results of IAE)

Socio-occupational category	Number of families	Percentage of families
Total	15 675	100.0
I. Landless families or those owning no more than 0.49 hectare, in which the head of the family or other members are permanently or occassionally employed (for some years) in state farms, interassociational machinery centres, forestry or other agricultural service units	511	3.3
II. Landless families or those owning nor more than 0.49 hectare, in which the head of the family works on his neighbour's farm for at least 60 days a year, and other members of the family for at least 100 days a year (excluding work done in discharge of a debt)	60	0.4
III. Landless families or those owning no more than 0.49 hectare, in which the head of the family or other members of the family are employed in non-agricultural sectors of national economy	1 935	12.3
IV. Families holding farms of the area more than 0.50 hectare, in which the head of the family works on his neighbour's farm for at least 60 days a year, or other members of the family for at least 100 days a year (excluding work done in discharge of a debt)	117	0.8
V. Families holding farms of the area more than 0.50 hectares with annual income earned outside their own farms amounting to 60 p.c. or more of the total production of their farms	2 806	17.9
VI. Families holding farms of the area more than 0.50 hectare, with annual income earned outside their own farms amounting to 10 – 60 p.c. of the total production of their farms	2 622	16.7
VII. Families holding farms of the area more than 0.50 hectare, with annual income earned outside their own farms amounting to less than 10 p.c. of the total production of their farms	6 556	41.8
VIII. Families owning farms and hiring workers for 150 and more days a year, including work done in discharge of a debt, or families with the total production or the size of farms corresponding to the region standards	84	0.5
IX. Families-members of the cooperative holdings	84	0.5
X. Landless families or those with agricultural perquisites: pensioners, life pensioners, single people above 60, holding unattended-to-farms	766	4.9
XI. Lack of data about sources of income	134	0.9

Source: *Zmiany spoleczno-ekonomicznej struktury wsi 1957 – 1962. Wyniki badań ankietowych.* Praca zespolowa pod kierunkiem B. Gałęskiego, Warszawa 1966, s. V.

In the pre-war period the majority of rural population – which amounted in the thirties to 70 per cent of the total population – was assigned to the rural sources of income. The dominant constituents of its socio-occupational structure were various categories of the rural population and first of all that of the peasants.

A homogeneous character of the traditional, individual, social structure of the country expressed itself not only in the fact that the majority of the rural population was assigned to the farmers' agriculture. Another feature of this structure was that agriculture meant the only way of life and was based mainly on autarkical, customary and communal work aiming at fulfilling immediate needs of the family. In such societies highly uniform models of economy and work were observed and could not be important factors of social stratification. It was property that determined mainly this stratification. In this situation strong mechanisms of one's assignement to the existing social positions and roles acted and the processes of achieving by individuals the desired social position on the principle of choice and activity were very weak. Generally speaking, rural population constituted in these conditions mainly a socio-cultural category and only to a little extent a socio-occupational one.

In the last twenty five years agriculture more and more ceased to be a natural and exclusive way of life for the rural population and it was becoming a sphere of work and production activity. In this situation the degree of modernization and the effects of the rural activities function more and more strongly as a factor of differentiation of rural structures and social stratification, very much independently of the property factor. A decreasing role of the property factor and increasing role of the work factor in the formation of the social structure of the rural population is determined by a complex group of reasons. Almost in the whole after-war period the State has been systematically limiting the functioning of uncontrolled market processes which bring about stratification of the rural population and economic and social degradation of its poorest groups. To fulfill this goal the State applied the following measures: tax policy, compulsory annual supply, the system of contracts between farmers and government, credits, and, lately, agricultural service units for individual farmers.

An important fact which opposed this uncontrolled stratification of the rural population was that in the People's Poland there appeared objectively favourable economic situation for small farms (high demand for agricultural products, especially labour-consuming ones as, for example, poultry which enabled smaller holdings to exploit fully their labour force and thus compete successfully with greater farms).[16] These possibilities have been taken advantage of by numerous, at that time, medium-size farms which improved their position in the structure of the rural population which previously had been very weak. And thus it can be assumed that uncontrolled market mechanisms might have led to pauperization of that category of farmers. It must be also emphasized that as a result of the enormous out-flow of labour force from agriculture a new situation at the rural labour market arose; hired workers on the individual farms could not be paid minimal wages. The impact of all these factors has brought about the situation in which, on the one hand, the model of the traditional small-capital farm (characterized by relatively great area but a poor mechanization and consequently the necessity of hiring a great number of workers) has been systematically loosing its attractiveness. On the other hand the model of the family holding without hired labour force but run in an intensive way has become more desirable. In this process of changes land has been loosing its importance in the system of variables determining rural social structure, giving way to other structure-creative factors, especially the work factor. The ownership of land, however, is one of the basic conditions of the social stratification and the occupational activity. Therefore, the changes in the agrarian structure of individual agriculture need to be presented in a relatively more detailed way.

As can be seen from the mentioned data, in the years 1950–1960 there occurred a tendency towards breaking up of individual agricultural holdings. The number of agricultural allotments of 0.1–0.5 hectares increased both in absolute and relative numbers as well as the number of holdings of 0.5–5 hectares (especially 0.5–3 hectares), that is of the objects potentially agriculturally dependent. But the number and the percentage share of the holdings having above 5 hectares decreased. These changes delayed, naturally, the growth in agriculture and for several years alarmed the public opinion. There were some reasons to be alarmed but very often that reaction was exaggerated. First of all it must be explained that a quick growth of the agricultural allotments of 0.1–0.5 hectares (by 148000), the holdings of 2–3 hectares (by 51500), and of 3–5 hectares (by 49600), in total by 456400, was not accompanied by the decrease of the area of the holdings of above 5 hectares, that is the holdings potentially independent and having the basic share in the goods produced in individual agriculture. The total area of that category of the holdings decreased by 194400 hectares which in 1960 constituted a little above 1 per cent of the area cultivated individually. The distinction between those two relatively autonomous phenomena is extremely important for the understanding of the real trends in the contemporary agriculture. It must be also pointed out that the calculated above serious increase of the agricultural allotments and holdings of above 5 hectares and especially those below 3 hectares cannot be absolutely identified with the process of pauperization of the rural population. These agricultural objects were only additional sources of income of the population employed mainly outside their holdings and also outside agriculture.[17]

In 1963 the State issued a new act limiting the division of agricultural holdings. Since then there has appeared a new development of the individual agriculture structure, the tendency different from that functioning in the years 1950–1960. A. Szemberg summing up the results of the IAE research on the change of agricultural holdings in the years 1962–1967 says that "... the tempo of the decrease of holdings is faster than their

Table 2

Evolution of the structure of individual agricultural holdings in the years 1950 – 1960

Year	Holdings in total	Holdings of the total area in hectares										
		0.1 – 0.5	0,5 hectare and more									
			Total	0.5 – 1	1 – 2	2 – 3	3 – 5	5 – 7	7 – 10	10 – 15	15 – 20	20 and more
						Number of holdings						
1950	3 168 500	199 700	2 968 800	206 500	415 100	375 500	616 300	477 500	499 000	246 300	92 700	39 900
1960	3 591 900	347 700	3 244 200	306 900	523 000	427 000	664 900	475 700	462 000	283 600	66 600	34 500
						Holdings in percentages						
1950	100	6.3	93.7	6.5	13.1	11.8	19.5	15.1	15.7	7.8	2.9	1.3
1960	100	9.7	90.3	8.5	14.6	11.9	18.5	13.2	12.9	7.9	1.8	1.0
						Total area of holdings in percentages						
1950	100	0.3	99.7	0.9	3.6	5.5	14.6	17.0	25.0	17.1	9.1	6.9
1960	100	0.5	99.5	1.3	4.5	6.2	15.5	16.7	22.8	20.1	6.7	5.7

Source: data taken from the GUS publications.

increase and, consequently, the total area of agricultural holdings and allotments diminished – there are less small and small-medium-size holdings; there are more big farms and standard agricultural allotments; the area changes are dominated by a tendency to increase".[18]

In the pre-war period a social position of the individuals and families living on individual agricultural holdings could be determined with a high probability in most parts of the country on the basis of their position in the agrarian structure. At present such a procedure would be unjustified. A social position of the majority of this population category is determined also by the income earned outside agriculture. The data from the IAE questionnaire from 1962 show that paid work outside agriculture is characteristic of 88 per cent of the families owning the allotments of 0.1 – 0.5 hectares, of 76.9 per cent of the families owning agricultural holdings of 0.5 – 2 hectares, and of 57.8 p.c. of the families owning the holdings of 2 – 5 hectares.[19] The data also show that part-time farmers are not very well represented in the group of the agricultural holdings below 2 hectares and that they constitute now the minority of tenants of the holdings of 2 – 5 hectares (small farms). The structure of the part-time farmers' holdings (category VII in the Table 1) was in 1962 as following: 0.5 – 2 hectares – 7.9 p.c.; from 2 to 5 hectares – 28 p.c.; from 5 to 7 hectares – 16 p.c.; from 7 to 10 hectares – 24.1 p.c.; from 10 to 15 hectares – 19 p.c.; from 15 to 20 hectares – 3.3 p.c.; 20 and more hectares – 1.7 p.c.[20]

Thus, almost 2/3 of the part-time farmers, the most numerous socio-occupational category (see Table 1), owns the agricultural holdings of above 5 hectares. The main part of this group are medium-size-farm owners having potentially self-sufficient holdings. The owners of the holdings of 0.5 – 2 hectares, potentially not self-sufficient ones, have a small share in the group of part-time farmers. Anyway it is a differentiated group. It consists of people who, for example, because of their old age limited the area of their farms, as well as of those who run their holdings in an intensive way (gardners, etc.). It seems, however, that a basic part of this group consists of farmers who are too weak economically to be active enough in agricultural production and to promote to higher farm-size categories and who, on the other hand, do not work in the non-agricultural sectors because of objective reasons such as, for instance, bad health or big distances from main transport lines. The described group becomes systematically smaller and in several years' time it will probably be of the marginal size.

However, the owners of small farms (2 – 5 hectares) still constitute an important part among part-time farmers (about 25 p.c.). But this group is also differentiated in the way the above mentioned group was. However, it must be added that the small-farm owners are in some regions and micro-regions a numerous and even the most numerous group of the individual farmers – above all in the south-east part of the country, that is, in the territories having for many decades exceptionally desintegrated agrarian structure. Therefore we may be right in assuming that the described category of farmers will decrease in a relatively quick way as a result of taking jobs by young generation in the non-agricultural sectors and as a result of closing the holdings by retired farmers.

The agrarian structure in the category of peasants-farmers has changed its former character in Poland as a result of the dynamic factors described above. As it has been stated a great majority of this category owns the agricultural holdings of above 5 hectares, that is, potentially self-sufficient ones. The supply of others than land means of agricultural production has also grown considerably in the post-war period but it does not fit yet the achieved level of the agrarian structure. Not going into details we have to state that on the basis of the IAE data the majority of peasants-farmers belongs to the groups of farmers which are provided with all the means of production, excluding land, in the low and the lowest degree: the value of their means of production amounting to below 40000 zł per one holding. It is relatively a very low amount, and is slightly above the sum of annual income obtained by the average family in this category of the peasants-farmers. This disproportion between the ownership of land and supply of other means of production is systematically liquidated (among others because of the farmers' labouriousness, savings and a relatively high investment activity) but is still considerable. This points indirectly to great capabilities that can be found in individual agriculture and to an important role of agricultural service system in the processes of modernization and socialization of individual agriculture.

It is also noteworthy that the majority of the peasants-farmers' holdings represent the lowest and low categories of the total production value and the level of income per average holding. Therefore, the position in the agrarian structure does not determine yet somehow automatically a position in the social structure of the country not only as far as the whole population living on individual farms is concerned but also even among the peasants-farmers.

The peasants-farmers are, geographically speaking, a very differentiated social category. And thus, for example, the value of means of production (excluding land) per one purely agricultural holding amounted to 600500 zł in the middle-west region (the Great Poland) and in the south-east region was 22600 zł. The average area of the peasants-farmers' holdings in the former region was 9.47 hectares, and in the latter 3.33 hectares, that is almost three times less. These significant regional differentiations do not occur in any other group of the rural or urban population. This situation is thus inevitably one of the symptoms of the mechanism of ascribtion which functions among the part-time farmers and determines their specific place in the structure of the whole society.

Examining the internal differentiation of the rural population living on agricultural holdings we have distinguished so far the owners of the following holdings: under-sized, small and medium-sized. These are also the owners of the capitalist type holdings as well as the proletariat and the rural semi-proletariat. They are, however, the categories of the marginal share in the total of rural population (see Table 1) but they must be taken into account because of the program principles of our socio-political system.

As it has been stated the rural family of the capitalist type constituted in 1962 0.5 p.c. of the families investigated by the IAE questionnaires. Their share in the rural population exclusively dependent on the work in individual agriculture was about 1 p.c. and so again minimal. Thus, it is a marginal group in the scale of the country. However, it must be noticed that in some regions this group is not represented at all and in some its presence in the rural social structure is on a much higher level than the national average. There are also some micro-regions and rural communities in which the capitalist type holdings have a high percentage. B. Gałęski established that in the sample of 120 villages, investigated by IAE in 1962, there are 6 villiages in which on the average 7.2 p.c. of the families belong to the category of the rural capitalists. In these six villages the share of the proletariat and the rural semi-proletariat is also noticeable: the first group constitutes 2.2 p.c. of the population, the second 4.2 p.c. (in the national scale respectively 0.4 p.c. and 0.8 p.c.).[21]

The process of differentiation of the rural social structure expresses itself in the rise of a new category of rural population, namely, these people who work not on individual but on the state owned or cooperative agricultural farms. The formation of these two groups had a very complex character.

In the forties and partly in the fifties the work in the State Farms was undertaken mainly by those who did not have possibilities to get other jobs or who were not able to make any other occupational decisions. Thus, it may be said that in the mentioned period the recruitment to the State Farms followed the social patterns of the ascribtion of the individuals to the given social and occupational roles and not the patterns of achieving by the individuals the given social and occupational roles. It was, therefore, the recruitment of the individual rather than universal type. It also seems that in the mentioned period the social position of the State Farms workers was shaped according to the patterns of the social ascription. This group has been the lowest category in the hierarchy of the social prestige in Poland. Almost all the research proved that the State Farms workers kept one of the last positions in a hierarchy of occupations at the turn of the fifties and sixties. This extremely low evaluation of the social position of the State Farms workers was due perhaps to some extent to the exaggerated and critical image of the situation and attitudes of this category that was present in Polish society. But there is no doubt that one of the lowest positions of the State Farms workers in society was justified by the objective features of the social position such as a level of income, education, the character of work and material conditions. It must be also admitted that the rural workers themselves were evaluating extremely critically their social position. It may be even said that the whole group was characterized by the collective sense of social inferiority. This situation had a strong and totally negative influence on the attitudes of the Statese Farms workers and, consequently, on the whole process of the functioning of the state sector in agriculture.

In the economic year 1966–1967 the State Farms employed in total 350700 employees and in agricultural production 328400 including 290900 workers, that is above 88 p.c.[22] No other sector of the socialized economy is found to have such a high percentage of the manual workers. In 1960 every 100 professionally active people in the state agriculture corresponded to 186.6 family members they maintained. Thus, it may be calculated that the population dependent on the work in the State Farms amounted to 1 million persons which constituted about 6 p.c. of the total rural population.

The employees, and especially the manual workers of the State Farms, have not been the subject of thorough sociological investigations. However, the existing results of the detailed research and statistical data allow to put forward a hypothesis that in the period of the last years the workers of the State Farms have promoted in the hierarchy of the socio-occupational groups in view of certain important characteristics of the social conditions.

Let us, first of all, pay some attention to the criteria of the level of income. In the economic year 1966/1967 the average monthly gross wage of the State Farms worker was nearly 1500 zł and equaled to about 75 p.c. of the average monthly gross wage in socialized economy. The difference between the two types of the factually earned incomes is undoubtedly much lower because the State Farms workers have greater additional sources of income then the average worker in socialized economy. For example, in the economic year 1964/1965 they cultivated 11400 hectares of allotments and 63 100 hectares of the potatoe area and they kept 63 800 of livestock and 291 900 of poultry (the State Farms under the Ministry of Agriculture had in this time about 700000 of poultry).[23]

Lack of good data makes it impossible to compare in detail the level of consumption in the families of the State Farms workers and in other groups of the rural population. We may, however, assume approximately that the level of consumtion of the State Farms family is similar to that of the purely agricultural family keeping the farm of 5–7 hectares. We also observe a quick improvement of the living standards of the State Farms workers (and thus for example the number of kindergardens increased from

112 in 1959 to 441 in 1965, and the number of children in kindergardens increased in this time from 3000 to 10000). They also have more free time, better working conditions, broader access to cultural goods and more favourable educational possibilities for their children. Besides, a relatively fast growth of the level of education can be seen in this group of workers. The results of the research conducted by the Section of Social Agronomy of the Polish Academy of Sciences on the sample of 276 holdings in the years 1962–1966 show that the percentage of the State Farms employee with uncompleted primary education fell down from 59 p.c. to 22.2 p.c. and the percentage of those with completed primary education rose from 30 p.c. to 53 p.c. and those with completed secondary agriculture schools from 0.6 p.c. to 7 p.c.[24] The data quoted do not cover the total number of the State Farms employees, so it is probable that the level of education of the workers is a bit less favourable. However, the fact of a fast growth of their education cannot be doubted.

Though the State Farms workers were in the beginning recruited mainly on the basis of social ascription, the present socio-occupational structure offers them some possibilities of achieving higher positions in the local and supralocal system of social relations. These chances were perhaps greater than those offered by the medium-size-farm owner to his employees. At any rate, some groups of individual farmers (as can be seen in the diary materials) seem to accept an opinion that their social position becomes less favourable in comparison with that of the qualified worker of the State Farm. A general improvement of the social position of the rural workers creates good conditions for the process of their occupational stability, for the inflow of more qualified workers and, finally, for the better functioning of the State Farms which now, anyhow, play an important part in the system of agricultural production. In 1967 the State Farms owned 13.6 p.c. of the rural area and their share in the sale of basic agricultural products to the State was much higher (corn – about 33 p.c., potatoes – 20 p.c., milk – about 20 p.c., beef cattle – above 22 p.c., rape and turnip – above 33 p.c.).[25] The State Farms participate to a great extent in the production of qualified seeds for the whole agriculture and by this contribute to the modernization of the agricultural economy. The general principles of the Polish agricultural policy assume a continuous growth of the function of the State Farms in the system of agricultural production and in the processes of modernization and socialization of the whole agriculture. It is also expected that the employees in this sector will soon constitute a specific and significant category of the rural social structure, especially in the regions where the State Farms are the most numerous, that is in the western and northern voivodeship as well as in the Poznań and Bydgoszcz voivodeships.

Cooperative farms own now about 1 p.c. of the rural area and comprise of 20000 families. The cooperative-farmers have, thus, a very low share in the total of the rural population (below 1 p.c.). However, it is a group which awakes a vivid interest not only because it participates in the formation of one of the types of the socialization of peasant-agriculture. An important factor from the sociological point of view is that the cooperative movement has been very important in the processes of a social mobility in the rural environment; it created a chance of a quick promotion of a certain part of the population which formerly lived in poverty. This thesis needs some further explanation.

As it can be seen from the research on the socio-occupational characteristics of the cooperative-farm members about 80 p.c. of them come from the landless population or from the population which received land from the agrarian reform. These people entered the cooperatives mainly because they did not have any possibilities of maintaining an independent holding (even if some of them had land they generally did not own any buildings, agricultural tools nor possessed elementary experience in agriculture).[26] Thus, this group has entered the new socio-economic structures also on the basis of ascription of the individuals to the determined social positions and roles. At a certain stage this group held a low position in society and then in the course of the gradual development of the cooperative system it has gained, on the average, greater possibilities of achieving higher social positions than for example, medium-size-farm owners. The sociological investigations seem to prove that the cooperative farmers have an easier access than medium-size-farm owners to such commonly desired values as, for example, consumption of material goods, free time and the possibility of offering their children appropriate conditions for education.[27]

As we have mentioned above the dominant components of the pre-war socio-occupational structure of the country were constituted by different categories of the rural population. Although, in some regions – first of all in the Katowice voivodeship – and in some micro-regions the percentage of the rural non-agricultural population but at the same time the one getting additional income from agricultural activity was at that time on a relatively high level, however, these were mainly isolated regions with a relatively small number of the total of the rural population. According to the data of the General Population Census in 1931 the non-rural population constituted 16.7 p.c. of the rural inhabitants. It was, however, to a great extent, a nominally non-agricultural population because various population categories of day-labourers, such as those for whom agriculture was an additional source of income, were included. Besides, some traditional groups such as village craftsmen or shop keepers had an important percentage in this category. In the pre-war period the number of rural population employed in non-agricultural sectors was decreasing because there were fewer possibilities of earning a living by skilled workers. Irregular jobs and jobs for unskilled workers, that is, traditional hired jobs, became a common phenomenon.[28]

This essentially homogeneous socio-occupational structure of the pre-war rural population implied a series of important social phenomena. And so, for example, it somehow strengthened barriers, distances and contrasts between economically and socially underdeveloped country and relatively developed town. But first of all it justified the functioning of macro- and micro-structures of the rural population. In the discussed period a social mobility in the rural environment was determined by only one hierarchical social order. Even a category of the day-labourers getting its income mainly from the work on neighbours' farms constituted a part of this social order and was the first level of this hierarchy which in the given social communities had a shape of a pyramide or a cube. The non-agricultural families, being outside an agricultural hierarchy, though living in the rural social space, were not very active in the rural social system.

A social mobility in the rural environment had, generally speaking, a degradating function. This was caused by lack of broader access to the non-agricultural work and a continuous deterioration of the agrarian structure The day-labourers, a group which was, to a great extent, a product of this kind of social degradation constituted, according to the quoted data of ISE, 51 p.c. of the total of the landless population and 28.4 p.c. of the population holding the farms of below 2 hectares.[29] Only 16 p.c. of the day-labourers' children achieved a higher social status than those of their fathers' by enjoying a status of the craftsman.

Nowadays the socio-occupational structure of the rural population has a heterogeneous and complex character. Its components are not only various categories of the rural population but also various groups of non-rural population well developed occupationally which are employed in agriculture and outside agriculture. According to the data of the General Population Census 34 p.c. of the rural inhabitants in 1966 were the persons with non-agricultural sources of income.[30] Only in two voivodeships the population with exclusive or main non-agricultural sources of income constitutes less than 25 p.c. of the total of rural inhabitants (the Bialystok voivodeship – 16.5 p.c. and Lublin voivodeship – 19.1 p.c.). The most numerous representation of this population category is in the country of the Katowice region (64 p.c.), and then in the Opole region (47.5 p.c.), the Wrocław region (42.5 p.c.), the Kraków region (41.5 p.c.). In the majority of the voivodeships it amounts to 30 – 40 p.c. of the total of the rural population; in more than a half of the village administration units it covers 20 p.c. and more of the inhabitants.[31] Thus, in most of the villages the percentage of the non-rural population is significant.

The rural population with exclusively or mainly non-agricultural sources of income consists of many socio-occupational categories. IAE, accepting the criteria of having or not having an agricultural income, distinguishes in this population: a landless population and a population obtaining additional means of subsistence from agriculture (see Table 1 – category III and V). No specific statistical information exists concerning the division of this population group into socio-occupational categories, that is according to the character of work performed permanently in the non-agricultural sectors of employment. There is no doubt, however, that this group is very differentiated by this criteria. Sociological literature distinguishes such categories as the peasants-clerks, peasants-workers or workers-peasants.[32] No thorough study has been done yet on the subject of any non-agricultural occupational categories which are important in the system of social relations in the country, for example, the category of village teachers or employees of the coöperative service units.

A highly developed occupational activity of rural population in the non-agricultural sectors of employment is not only an important factor of differentiation of the rural social structure. It can also be treated as a clearly marked aspect of the processes of urbanization of the whole society. According to the official and administrative criteria the urbanization indicator is about 52 p.c. But the urbanization of occupation in our society (measured by the percentages of the population with exclusive or main non-agricultural sources of income) is on a much higher level and equals to 68–69 p.c.

The rural communities though characterized by a clear heterogeneous socio-occupational structure represent various types of social relations. For example, the rural population of the Katowice voivodeship is highly urbanized not only from the occupational point of view but also from the social point of view. Such features of this rural population as occupational and demographic structures, living conditions, patterns of behaviour, make it similar to the urban population of this voivodeship. This sort of situation is a result of changes undergoing for many generations. In other regions of Poland, in which the urbanization of the occupation of the rural population is a product of changes occurring in the last few years, the processes of social urbanization are not so advanced. But in these regions the influence of the non-agricultural jobs on the present changes of rural communities is particularly strong.[33]

The formation of a numerous category of the non-agricultural rural population is a symptom of a more general process, that is, of an expansion of social mechanisms which transmit the impact of the contemporary town into the rural environment. It is one of the basic factors leading to a gradual disappearance of the traditionally dichotomic division of the Polish society into the urban and rural structures. At the same time it helps to create a homogeneous and uniform structural system. In the process of these transformations a new social structure of the country is taking shape. Isolation and local autonomy are taken over by a growing participation in the processes functioning in the whole society. Such groups as the day-labourers, the rural proletariat, the owners of the under-sized holdings as well as the small-size-farms owners almost in all have non-agricultural sources of income. Numerous traditional population categories have been eliminated from the rural community; that is the categories of which the social conditions were in all aspects drastically different from the social conditions of the medium-size-farms owners and even more so from the conditions of big-farm owners. As a result of the differentiation of the socio-occupational structure of the rural population there now exists not only one, agricultural, trend but a complex system of trends of a social mobility. Generally speaking, a constant levelling of the social structure of the country consists in a systematic reduction of the extreme social groups, namely, the reachest and the poorest ones. It also expresses itself in the dominance of the middle social position and in the liquidation of social values, gaps and hierarchical structure of dependencies in relationships between the individuals and groups. It does not mean, of course, that in all rural communities the traditional patterns of subordination and dependencies in the relationships between the individuals and families belonging to various classes and socio-occupational categories have been completely eliminated.[34] This sphere of problems has not been adequately examined in the sociological research but from the point of view of the theory and praxis of the formation of the classless, socialist society its importance does not need to be justified.

A social promotion undoubtedly dominates over degradation in the process of the present great shifts of social positions of the individuals and groups. Only certain rural population categories, especially some owners of the so-called unkempt holdings, have undergone the process of degradation. There are two reasons which explain the dominance of a social promotion over degradation in the rural environment. First, the rural population has achieved a broad access to work in the non-agricultural sectors of our economy. Secondly, the existing socio-economic system in Poland does not create the mechanisms of economic competition in individual agriculture which would eliminate economically weak farmers. On the contrary, the system creates some possibilities to strengthen a social position of these weak groups.

THE PROCESS OF SOCIALIZATION OF AGRICULTURE

Traditional rural agriculture was supplied mainly with natural means of production such as land, animals, etc. Modern agriculture is based, on the other hand, on industrial means of production and it functions in the environment formed to a great extent by man, that is, in the technical environment. In this new situation more and more complex and new technology is applicated by an agricultural producer. This new technology determines models of his professional activity as regards technology of production, organization of work, consumption – which modifies housework and family life, various new ways of communication, entertainment, etc. What position does Polish agriculture have between these extreme structures? Is it an agriculture based primarily on natural means of production or on new technologies?

As far as the State Farms are concerned it must be generally stated that their way of production is already based on the technical means. However, we are interested in this part of the study only in individual agriculture which comprises the majority of the rural population and which is undergoing intensive processes of modernization and socialization. Thus, a special emphasis will be paid to the influence of two factors which at present are the main means of realization of production plans in agriculture, namely: intensification of fertilization and mechanization. A degree of consumption of fertilizers is one of the most synthetic indicators of modernization of agriculture. It is a factor which with a particular impact promotes an economic growth and integration of agricultural production.

In 1968 the consumption of fertilizers was 132.6 kg per one hectare of the cultivated area, including 79.7 kg of stable manure. In fact, some years ago natural fertilization dominated over artificial fertilization. This dominance had been even greater in the past. In 1949 the consumption of artificial fertilizers in individual agriculture was 19.9 kg per one hectare, and in 1937 only 0.4 kg. Already in 1966 this factor increased to 89.2 kg and at present artificial fertilization is undoubtedly more applied than natural one.[35] Thus, on the basis of this criteria, individual agriculture has made only in the latest few years great progress in technical modernization. And, indeed, relatively speaking, it is considerable progress. But taking into consideration other indicators it cannot be so highly evaluated. It is only enough to say that a degree of fertilizers consumption in the state farms is almost double. A fast development of fertilizers industry, however, creates real possibilities to overcome this disproportion in a few years' time.

No general indicator of mechanization in individual agriculture exists, therefore, we must refer to some data giving information which in a general and approximate way will describe the phenomena in question.

In individual agriculture horses have a dominant share in the supply of traction power; in 1967 – 82.3 p.c., but in the State Farms only 16.4 p.c. But here again considerable progress has been made because in 1950 horses constituted 99.2 p.c. of the traction power in individual agriculture. As far as this feature is concerned, individual agriculture must be considered as yet poorly mechanized. Another indicator of the level of mechanization of individual agriculture is a relation of the value of machinery to the value of other means of production. The IAE questionnaire from 1962 states that the share of particular means of production in their total value is as following: machinery – 59.9 p.c., draught-horses – 15.3 p.c., cattle – 25.2 p.c.[36] The present share of machinery in means of production is undoubtedly much higher. It may be estimated that the value of machinery is double in relation to the value of livestock.

Other available indicators of the technical modernization of individual agriculture will be mentioned only in the most condensed form. Electrification covered (1957) 80.9 p.c. of individual holdings. Here the progress was very significant because in 1955 only 33.6 p.c. of the individual holdings had electricity. But it must be remembered that electricity is mainly used for lighting purposes and only in a minimal way it is applied in productive work. In the years 1950–1967 melioration covered 596 900 hectares of the cultivated area and 921 500 hectares of meadows and pastures. In 1963 57.4 p.c. of the rural buildings were wooden, and 39 p.c. were covered with straw-roofs.[37]

It seems that taking into consideration the above mentioned indicators we may say that Polish individual agriculture is using in a greater extent a technical rather than natural model of production. It is also noteworthy that the present level of technical modernization in individual agriculture has been achieved primarily during last few years and that in the nearest future the dynamics of this process will intensify. In this situation the problems of social consequences of technical modernization in individual agriculture, especially in the sphere of agricultural work are of vital importance.

It is, of course, hard to describe immediate social consequences of fertilization intensification. Naturally, one can point out such phenomena as necessity of the adjustment of the farmer to previously unknown agrotechnical requirements, that is, the use of appropriate fertilization does and techniques as regards the type of soil and cultivation; his knowledge of the best terms of sowing time as regards the effectiveness of artificial fertilization, etc. A control of these capacities has, no doubt, some influence on the process of the farmer's professionalization. However, far more important social consequences of fertilization intensification occur in longer cycles of growth and by means of its economic functions, that is, above, all, by an accelerated growth of income and agricultural production.

Mechanization of such acts as drill, harvesting (less loses of crop), sowing of fertilizers, etc., has an immediate influence on the growth of the output of agricultural products. Machinery enables to a great extent the realization of cultivation at appropriate terms. It has a particular importance in difficult weather conditions. In certain agricultural holdings with a vaster area but a weak supply of labour force, mechanization can stimulate positively a quality of the cultivated soil and some preparatory acts. A somehow indirect although important result of motorization of agriculture is the saving of feeding staff which in different conditions would be used to keep a horse. In agricultural holdings with a vast supply of feeding staff mechanization of livestock production can intensify this production. Therefore, the economic effects of mechanization though less than those of fertilization are evident enough in agriculture.

In the present phase of the development of our individual agriculture characterized, among others, by the willingness of youth to leave agricultural holdings, mechanization due to its labour-saving and labour-facilitating character has a positive influence on an occupational stability of the young farmers. In fact, it has been often introduced in a reponse to strong demands of the young farmers. Functional social changes under the influence of agricultural mechanization manifest themselves in very many different forms. Let us enumerate the most evident ones. Even now it can be stated that agricultural machinery – especially when in possession of interassociational agricultural service units – is a decisive factor which reduces class dependencies among the rural population. The farmers who do not possess enough means of production take use to a greater extent of the service of the interassociational machinery units and by doing so they are able to avoid complicated system of work done on discharge of a debt which usually has a character of class dependencies. On the other hand, mechanization enables the reduction of hired work on greater holdings but insufficiently supplied with labour force. Thus, as a result of the introduction of mechanization some agricultural holdings are loosing structural features of the capitalist farms and become the holdings of a family type. All these processes lead undoubtedly to further levelling of the social structure of the country.

Exploitation of many agricultural machinery, for example, threshing-machines and steam shovels, is above physical capacities of one rural family and thus it makes the families' cooperation necessary. The range of this phenomenon seems to be an evidence of the revival of production cooperation among the rural population. This cooperation differs from the traditional type of cooperation. It functions on a higher level of organization and produces far more complex interpersonal relations during the work done collectively. Another manifestation of the revival of farmers' cooperation is machinery partnership among neighbours. The development of various modern forms of cooperation under the influence of mechanization can be considered as a phenomenon which has been defined above as a consolidated adjustment capacity of individual agriculture to the new socio-economic situations.

Mechanization intervenes mainly in these farmers' activities which showed the least susceptibility to changes and which have almost not been modified during the last centuries. They formed in the rural social system one of the centers of inertion and conservatism influencing other spheres of rural culture. Mechanization not only destroys the centers of inertion and conservatism but somehow creates new centers of cultural activity. It is because mechanization is a source of motivation of a new type, especially as regards occupational activity; it is a factor directly influencing on functional social changes. And thus, for example, it modifies organization and division of labour and traditional hierarchy od social and occupational roles in the rural family. In many cases mechanization opens new possibilities or enables women to carry out some field-work or stock-raising work which earlier required a great physical effort and thus were done by men only. In this new situation the occupational role of the women increases but, at the same time, her work obligations are also greater. Mechanization also increases an occupational rank of other members of the family especially that of youth, but it also limits the patriarchal power of the head of the family. Therefore, it favours the processes of the levelling of social relations in the family.

The traditional farmer worked in isolation, almost always on his own field and farm by himself. Only in the course of certain agricultural activities he had a contact with other members of his family and in rare cases he cooperated with other farmers, and this cooperation had rather a mechanical than organic character. These circumstances were one of the sources of the so-called rural individualism. One of the most essential functions of mechanization is this that the farmer in the process of his professional work begins to participate in various social groups and make various occupational and social contacts. His autarchical and individual work becomes a social one. The traditional system of values in the country favoured work for work's sake and in general opposed any attempts of introducing rational and economical work. Mechanization, on the other hand, is one of the factors which leads to a more effective work and in turn to the formation of a new idea of time. Time is no longer a natural category measured by a natural phenomena. It is a subject of timing and aquires a structural character, among others by the division of time into a work time and a free time, that is, the categories which in fact were unknown in the traditional rural culture.

The technical modifications of individual agriculture lead to fundamental modifications of the character of the farmer's work. Work in the traditional agricultural holding constituted, first of all, a defined autarchical style of life, it constantly isolated the peasant from the town and global society. Work in modern agricultural holding becomes a performance of a concrete occupation and somehow automatically links the farmer with the town, with the system of the socialist economy by means of a developed system of economic ties.

Generally speaking, it is a process of a fundamental modification of the character of the farmers' work: from the work of a private autonomous character to the work of a social character. Private, autonomous work means such a type of economic activities in which the producer, according to Marx "indirectly produces greater part of what he himself consumes, and therefore gets his means of subsistence rather by means of exchange with nature than by relations with society".[38] Social work, on the other hand, means such a type of acts in which people turn over the effects of their work (not only economic one) to other people fulfilling their needs by relations not with nature but with society.

A certain part of individual farmers in Poland obtain means of subsistence only in a little degree by exchange with nature but essentially it is done by relations with society (great market production, an important share of materials and services bought in the market in the total value of material inputs for agricultural production, a high level of work-mechanization, an appropriate level of rural culture, a low indicator of self-consumption, etc.). However, the present state of research does not allow to define the number of this category of farmers. Only some data showing the increasing social character of work in the occupational activity of our farmers can be quoted.

In 1967 the share of market production in final production of individual agriculture was 68 p.c., in 1950–54.1 p.c.[39] This indicator is obviously higher in the peasants-farmers holdings which are more oriented towards market production than the holdings of the part-time farmers and part-time workers. The existing data, however, do not allow to define exactly this difference. At any rate it is possible to say that the share of social work in the productive activity of the farmers is very advanced. The share of materials and services bought in the market in the total value of material inputs for agricultural production in individual and socialized agriculture was 27 p.c. in 1968 (in 1950 – 10 p.c., in 1960 – 18 p.c.).[40] This indicator is lower for individual agriculture but also in this case the existing data does not allow to define this difference. It may be expected, however, that in the nearest years the share of materials and services bought in the market in the total value of material inputs for agricultural production in individual agriculture (especially the part-time farmers) will increase considerably. The economic plans assume a quick growth of a supply of investment goods and productive services for individual agriculture, especially on the part of interassociational service units.

The process of socialization of the individual farmer's work expresses itself among others in the following phenomenon: the share of agricultural producers in a widely developed system of contracts between farmers and Government for the supply of agricultural products which in effect leades to subordination of the farmers' economic decisions to the interests of social economy; integrational and advisory activity of the agricultural administration (for example, the compulsory "agrominimum" or the functioning of the village agronomist), which influences more and more the course of productive processes in individual agricultural holdings; the way of using services of interassociational service units and their management, which means that the interassociational service units are not only theoretically but also to a great extent practically socialized agricultural enterprises.[41]

Therefore, we may state that individual farmers perform on a greater scale the following functions: 1. they turn over the effects of their work to other people; 2. they use in their production the effects of productive and non-productive work of other people; 3. they participate in some way in the system of collective work. The process of socialization of the farmers' work is developed on a large scale. It is a process of socialization of individual agriculture with, as W. Wesolowski says, a preservation of the rural class as "private owners of means of production but at the same time it is a process creating some barriers which limit the influence of the ownership of means of production on the formation of features of the social position".[42]

A hypothesis assuming that the process of socialization of the farmers' work inspired and organized by the state leades to the fundamental social changes of the rural population seems to be highly probable. This process has undoubtedly an immediate and active influence on the dynamism of the changes of the social rural structure, on a social mobility and cultural changes. Above all, as has been mentioned, it is now somehow a main trend of socialization of individual agriculture and of the growing participation of the peasants in the system of collective work and national economy. J. Chałasiński, while commenting upon the diaries of young rural generation states: "In the collection of diaries one can observe a growing consciousness of the all-national importance of the changes taking place in the country and agriculture. It is a consciousness of this that an active engagement in the rural and agricultural changes is an engagement in the realization of a great national goal".[43] It must be said that these are conscious and motivated attitudes of the farmers' participation in the system of the collective work of our society. Therefore, it may be said that the farmers characterized by this attitude have a different and more dynamic perspective of their position in society than the farmers who identified themselves according to traditional patterns only with their own holdings.

The results of numerous detailed sociological investigations allow to state that various categories of farmers have now occupational consciousness, the feeling of belonging to the group which is not of socio-cultural type but of occupational type. This is particularly true as far as the youngest generation of farmers is concerned. E. Jagiełło-Łysiowa analysing occupational attitudes of young farmers says, among others: "Young farmers are more and more aware of their general occupational position and because of that the rural occupational consciousness makes itself distinct and separate from the 'rural-peasant' consciousness. The rise of this new consciousness indicates the formation of the concept of agricultural work as an occupation".[44]

As far as the basic part of the rural population is concerned it seems that though peasants identify themselves with agricultural work their identification with agricultural profession is weak. And thus, for example, they prefer – as been found in many sociological researches – the name "farmer" than "peasant". What's more, the name "peasant" has a negative, insulting meaning to them ("To be a peasant seems to be the worst of all", "To be a peasant is humiliating"). At the same time, however, as B. Gałęski says: "The inhabitants of villages asked in the course of monographic researches whether the farmer holding a medium-size-farm" practices the farmer profession', could not answer the question satisfactorily. They could hardly say why the term »occupation« seems to them unsuitable but they were quite positive that it was improper".[45]

Thus, it seems that we may say that the social identification of the contemporary Polish peasants is of a clearly transitory character. The sphere that will probably be taking shape in the subsequent process is above all their occupational consciousness. And thus, their feeling of attachment to the occupational category of farmers will grow and the model of a professional farmer will take shape, that is, the scale of qualifications, assimilation of the modern patterns of occupational behaviour, approval of new occupational norms.

Trying to generalize the data and interpretations quoted in this paper we may say that the social system of farmers' work is losing its individual features and obtaining universal ones. It is, to a less extent, subordinated to the mechanisms of ascription and hardly ever creates these mechanisms. Instead of that the system starts to create more intensively the mechanisms of choice and individual activity. But in the social system of farmers' work there are still elements of an individual type. Such an individual character still has the mechanism of enrolment to the farmers' occupation; young people often keep working in the agricultural holdings not on the basis of choice but rather on the basis ascription, on the grounds of the feeling of loyalty or even sacrifice to their parents, or an agricultural holding. The mechanism of occupational careers of the young farmers also includes many elements of an individual type which manifest themselves in slow – oft based on the principle of generational circulation – processes of their growing independence.[46]

However visible is the process of technological modernization and socialization of the system of agricultural work, we cannot expect that it will take a spontaneous and somehow automatic course. It will be necessary to use many new incentives, new forms of intervention which would efficiently link small agricultural producers with the mechanism of the socialist economy. In this field we have a considerable and, in many ways, innovatory experience which will be undoubtedly continued and developed.

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MARIA DZIEWICKA

DUAL OCCUPATION IN POLISH AGRICULTURE

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

Part-time farming has a long history and rich literature not only in Poland but in many countries of Europe, Americas and Asia. It is a widespread and controversial phenomenon in perhaps all countries. Its controversial nature pertains to the definition, magnitude and perspective evaluation. This is indicated by the preliminary report of groups of experts from various countries. The report was elaborated in 1965–1968 on the basis of broad documentation collected under the auspices of FAO on part-time farming in Europe, the USA and Japan. But a synthesis of this phenomenon turned out to be impossible not only because of the gaps in information (regarding first of all the evolution in time of various forms of part-time farming and their economic, psychologic and sociological aspects), but also due to conflicting definitions and incomparative statistical data.[1]

The difficulty with arriving at a synthesis seems to stem from the fact that the term "part-time farming" is variously defined and that the situations and problems involved are so heterogeneous. The very concept becomes ambiguous and is so broad that a complete synthesis of the phenomena involved must embrace the totality of changes transpiring in the village, agriculture, the rural family, the occupational structure and the mutual relations between the country and city populations. It is perhaps necessary to pose problem differently – or more broadly – by subordinating it to changes in the social structure, in connection with economic growth, or more narrowly – by characterizing various distinct forms of part time farming. In Poland research on part-time farming has been going on for more than two decades, but there is still controversy over its definition, evaluation, magnitude, postulates for policy. And it cannot be otherwise as long as basically different situations are defined by the same term.[2] And almost each one of them has its positive and negative sides expressed more or less clearly depending on the conditions of time and place.

MULTI-OCCUPATION FAMILIES AND INDIVIDUALS

There is an ever more widespread view that only operators of individual peasant farms (heads of families) who are steadily gainfully employed on and off their farms should be reckoned as the dual occupation population. If we accept that determination and regard as peasant farms all above 0.1 ha (except socialized ones, of course), then the dual occupation population and farms numbered over a million (according to the 1970 general census and the 1972 poll of the Institute of Agricultural Economy). But, as seems justified, if we raise the lower limit of farm size to 2 ha, then that number is reduced to half a million.

Expansion of the concept of dual occupation to include all members of peasant families with income outside of agriculture gives us more than 3 million people and 1.9 mln farms on the basis of 0.1 ha as the lower farm size limit, and about 1.4 mln people and 1 mln farms – on the basis of 2 ha (according to the 1970 general census). Thus different definitions of the rural population of dual occupation give in effect not only entirely different figures, but also signify the varied, basically divergent phenomena of family and individual multi-occupation.

Family multi-occupationism applies to the situation where family members living together are running a common household, practice varied vocations or, more broadly conceived, have incomes from varied sources (for instance, non-earned incomes such as retirement and invalidity pensions).

An individual has a dual occupation when one and the same individual is engaged in two income-earning activities – in this case working on the farm and steady outside gainful employment. This is mainly the situation with operators of individual farms and heads of families who are gainfully employed outside. Casual occupations or casual help on a farm or household do not create a situation of dual occupation. Both phenomena (family and individual dual occupation) have a common foundation: growth of the non-agricultural branches of production and of the services and their demand for labour power, changes in the social division of labour, technical progress in agriculture lowering the demand for agricultural labour. But each of these phenomena means a different life situation, has other causes and effects, varied developmental prospects, pertains to different circles of individuals, although both often appear in the same family, crossing each other – analogical to the ongoing process of transformation of families and individuals exclusively engaged in farming into the category of dual and multi-occupation in agriculture.

Multi-occupationism is becoming ever more widespread among farm families in connection with the changes transpiring in the individual farm, the peasant family and the rural areas as a whole.

The situation where the peasant farm is the main factor integrating the family, where the interest of the family, supreme in relation to those of its members, is subordinated to the farm is on the whole a thing of the past. Many researches show that the opposite is true today. The farm and its development are subordinated to the family situation, while the interests of the family as such no longer prevail over the interests of the individuals. The effect of the demand for labour power in the non-agricultural divisions of the national economy is that work on the farm becomes not the only but one of many possible occupations of the peasant family members, while technical progress in agriculture lowers the demand for manpower even on larger farms. With a big family it becomes irrational to steadily employ everyone on the farm, while the opportunities for attractive jobs in other fields increased. Farming as one possible way of life becomes a more or less consciously chosen occupation, like other occupations. This is facilitated by the general rise of the young people's educational level and growth of aspirations in relation to kind of vocation and satisfaction of their needs.

The farmer's profession is rated by comparison with other professions in respect of income, conditions of labour, outlook for the future. With large families either the farm or assurance of some other occupations for the growing-up young people become the point of departure for their start in life.

At the same time new non-agricultural places of work will continue to arise in connection with the development of the services for the village and agriculture (and they can be expected to grow at a much faster tempo) which will absorb not only town people but also members of peasant families. The productivity of agricultural labour and of the soil will depend on the development of the services for farmers in the spheres of mechanization, agrotechnics, transport, supply and market outlets, education, health care, etc., while the demand for labour on one's own farm is declining and will continue to decline.

In connection with these changes the farm families are gradually losing their peasant character and are becoming families engaged in the farming profession or, ever more often, multi-occupation families-lie city families. The contemporary village is ceasing to be a community of people toiling on individual farms, is being converted into a multi-occupation village and in the vicinity of cities, industrial centres and lines of communication into workers' villages.

Research on the choice of occupation indicates that rural young people and their parents predominantly favour non-agricultural vocations for their children. This is associated not only with the social prestige of the farming profession, but also with the fact that even large individual farms do not assure all the family members full employment, not to speak of very small farms which predominate in Poland. This is confirmed by the data of the general census of 1970. Particularly large families with not only small farms but larger ones, exceeding 5 ha, have become multi-occupation families primarily because the young people have gone to work off the farm. This is attested by the following figures:

– among exclusively agricultural families running famrs of 2 ha and over, the proportion of families with 3 or more gainfully employed members amounts to 36 per cent and with 4 ha and over – 12 per cent;

– among families with mixed sources of income the proportion is 64 p.c. and 31 p.c. respectively;

– among the total of farms of 2 ha and over in area the proportion of farms in which all gainfully employed persons work on the farm amounts to 99 p.c. with one gainfully employed, 91 p.c. – with two, 67 p.c. – with three and 59 p.c. – with four and more;

– in families operating farms of 2 ha and over, 53 p.c. of persons whose exclusive source of maintenance is non-farm income are less than 25 years of age and 65 p.c. – below 30;

– according to general census data, the general increase in the number of people on farms of 0.1 ha and over with off the farm income amounted to about 829000 in the 1960 – 1970 period. Young people below 25 (in 1970), when they started outside gainful employment, counted about 776000 or constituted 93 p.c. of the total increase. In the same period the number of people with unearned sources of maintenance increased by 196000, constituting 24 p.c. of the total increase.

Thus the rise in the number with off the farm income is due, in the above period primarily, to young people reaching productive age, the so-called demographic high, and increase in the number of retirement and invalidity pensioners.

The majority of migrants from the village are of the 20 – 30 age group. It may hence appear that a considerable part of young people gainfully employed off the farm are potential emigrants from the rural areas and that dual occupation is therefore in many families a temporary phenomenon connected with the family development cycle. But it is a permanent phenomenon on the general social scale.

Still another element is worth noting. While the small two-generation family is dominant also in the rural areas, the highest proportion of 3 and more generation families are to be found in those with mixed sources of income. Here the father runs the farm while the son or son-in-law are gain-fully employed outside; or vice versa.

A special type of multi-occupation family is the one running a small farm (generally not exceeding 2 ha) the owner of which is steadily employed in non-agricultural branches of the national economy or in the social sector of agriculture, while his wife, old parents or grown up children work on the farm. Workers and labourers of this type occupy themselves only casually with the farm during the height of the production season or during vacations. Families of this kind are to a great degree concentrated in workers' villages near cities, industrial centres and lines of communication and their farms serve self-approvization, as dwellings, source of additional income and place of work primarily for family members.

The multi-occupation farm family has thus become an irreversible fact, resulting from general developmental tendencies: development and transformation of the village, of the individual farm and peasant family. It flows from economic and social underdevelopment, disproportional growth or erroneous economic and social policy. Thus, for instance, inadequate general education and vocational preparation and resulting low earnings, difficulties with obtaining housing, becoming independent and founding a family – all this tends to increase the number of young people who live together with their parents and conduct a common household.

The disparity of income from farming and from outside gainful employment, the lack of farmers' insurance against old age, the fragmentation of farms, difficult working conditions are strong incentives for undertaking outside gainful employment. But the phenomenon of dual occupation families is associated not only and even not mainly with those factors. Greater occupational and social mobility always accompanies economic progress and growth. When the farmers' family members undertake outside gainful employment they not only practice their right to choose a vocation. It is also a progressive phenomenon which reduces the surplus agricultural population, counteracts selfsufficiency of farms (based mainly on natural economy), encourages a more modern approach to the farming profession, thinking in economic terms and economic accounting, increases land "mobility" and thus allows us to rebuild agrarian structure.

An individual dual occupation is an intricate phenomenon. It means not the family but the individual combining the farming profession with other income earning occupations. It results primarily from the inadequacy of farm income, i.e., of one occupation, to maintain the family. It is a result either of the small size of the farm, bad quality of the soil or of other farming difficulties and often of low vocational qualification and low remuneration for the work done. This pertains first of all to adults with families to maintain, to men to a greater degree than women owning farms of 2–5 ha and hence too small to be an independent source of maintenance and big enough to constitute an additional vocation. Family dual occupation is thus associated mainly with economic and social development, with the transformation of the farm, village and peasant family. Whereas individual dual occupation is linked with the agrarian structure, the large number of petty farms, low levels of education, vocational preparation, and difficult family situation.

Individuals of dual occupation should nevertheless not be negatively rated, for they solve a number of problems difficult to tackle in any other way. They first of all increase the incomes and raise the level of living of the formerly poorest population group, the very small farmers. Secondly, they are a source of manpower for the non-agricultural divisions of the national economy, socialized agriculture and the services and thus help improve the occupational structure and to reduce the magnitude of the agricultural population. Thirdly: under the conditions of economic growth, of increased wages and of the productivity of labour and of the soil, they may contribute to improving the agrarian structure, to the orderly liquidation of non-viable farms, the owners of which choose a non-agricultural occupation and to the ability to increase investments, to specialization and modernization of other farms whose owners desire to retain the farming profession. Finally, the occupations of such individuals often complement each other, for instance, work on the farm in the sowing and harvesting seasons, employment in the forest, in serving tourists, helping the family in times of urgent field work or working on the farm as a means of relaxation, as regeneration after other work. All these situations are rather marginal in Polish conditions, but they may become common in the future.

In using statistical data, especially of general statistics, it is difficult to separate the dual occupation family and the dual occupation individual. It may be said by way of simplification that the dual occupation individual pertains first of all to cases where the farm operator (who is as a rule the head of the family in the peasant family farm) is gainfully employed off the farm and family dual occupation – to cases where family members are so employed.

The close relation of gainful employment off the farm by the farm operator (head of the family) and the size of the farm and the almost complete lack of such a relation when only family members are gainfully employed off the farm (Table 1) illustrates the different causes and situations which shape the two phenomena.

Associated with the above is the essential difference in the breakdown of persons employed off the farm or with non-income earning sources of maintenance according to the size of the farm and age (Table 2). The lower the age and the larger the farm the greater is the proportion of outside employment, and vice versa. This is of course due to the different functions of outside earnings in various types of families, the different roles and meaning of off the farm gainful employment of the farm operator (head of the family) and of the other family members, first of all young people.

Situations of income from non-gainfully employed sources differ from family and individual dual occupation. Involved here is primarily income from retirement and invalidity pensions of old people who cultivate small plots of land.

According to the data of the Institute of Agricultural Economy, in the decade 1962 – 1972 the number of families in which farm operators

Table 1

Percentage of farms in which heads of families or family membres are gainfully employed off the farm, according to farm size

Farm size in ha	Percentage of farms with steady outside gainful employment		
	anyone in the family	head of the family	only family members
Total	54	31	23
0.5 – 1	73	56	17
1 – 2	74	53	21
2 – 3	70	46	24
3 – 5	60	36	24
5 – 7	50	24	26
7 – 10	39	16	23
10 – 15	32	8	24
15 – 20	24	4	20
20 and over	15	3	12

Source: own calculation on the basis of the findings of a poll conducted by IER in 1972.

Table 2

Gainfully employed off the farm or with unearned means of maintenance, according to age and size of farm in percentages

Farm size in ha	Total	Age					
		to 25	25 – 30	30 – 40	40 – 50	50 – 60	60 and over
0.1 – 2	54.3	39.8	44.5	56.9	59.6	61.0	67.7
2 – 5	26.4	27.5	28.8	26.6	26.8	27.0	22.1
5 and over	19.3	32.7	26.7	16.5	13.6	12.0	10.2

Source: *General National Census of 1970* (tab. 21).

(heads of families) were gainfully employed off the farm increased by 7 p.c., while the number of families where other persons are so employed rose by 44 p.c. The first number may be regarded as representing the rate of growth of individual dual occupation and the second – of family dual occupation. While these figures may not precisely reflect the rate of change, in connection with what was said above it provides a conception of its approximate range and direction.

The number of multi-occupation families may be expected to rise in the coming years, while individual dual occupation may be limited in connection with the general increase of labour and soil productivity, of qualifications and the population's level of living and greater requirements in respect of leisure time and working conditions.

The number of old age and invalidity pensioners will continue to increase among the rural population in general and among members of peasant families.

THE FARMS OF THE DUAL OCCUPATION POPULATION

Much has been written on this question and these farms are more and more often defined as being operated by people (heads of families) who are steadily gainfully employed off the farm. There is general agreement that within a given size limit (5 ha is most often mentioned) these farms do not essentially differ in respect of agricultural output from purely agricultural farms. Although their marketable production is lower, in connection with the larger number of people to maintain.

The data of a poll conducted by the Institute of Agricultural Economy (IER) show that the dual occupation farm of above 2 ha attains a somewhat lower net output per ha in comparison with the purely agricultural farm, and those where others than the farm operator (head of family) are gainfully employed off the farm (Table 3). According to data from the same source the quality of the soil gets worse in measure with the increase in size of the dual occupation farm and that the attained output per ha is correlated with the soil indices. The cause of differences should hence be sought in the soil quality rather than in the farm operator's dual occupation. This is attested also by the approximately similar rate of

Table 3

Cash and marketable per ha of arable in current prices

Farm size in ha	Type of farm					
	with no gainfully employed outside	gainfully employed		no gainfully employed outside	gainfully employed	
		heads of families	family members		heads of families	family members
	output value in 1000 zlotys per ha					
	cash			marketable		
Total	14.0	15.2	14.1	11.8	10.4	10.9
0.5 – 2	20.2	23.8	23.6	13.3	13.9	13.4
2 – 5	17.2	16.3	17.0	13.4	10.9	11.7
5 – 7	14.7	12.8	14.8	12.0	9.4	11.5
7 – 10	13.8	11.9	13.1	11.5	9.5	10.3
10 and over	13.1	10.2	12.3	11.4	8.2	10.4

Source: won calculation on the basis of the findings of a poll conducted by the IER in 1972.

growth of production in both type farms: agricultural and dual occupation, investigated by the IER in 1962–1972 (Table 4).

The figures of Table 4 do not explain the causes and circumstances of the lack of essential differences in production results. These causes may be divided into 3 groups:

Table 4

Farms by magnitude of net output in 1962 and 1972 in fixed prices

Output value in 1000 zlotys per ha	1962		1972	
	percentage of farms			
	total	dual occupation	total	dual occupation
up to 8	37.2	38.8	37.2	18.5
8–10	22.5	20.1	22.5	17.1
10–15	31.0	26.8	36.1	42.0
15–20	6.5	7.2	17.0	17.1
20 and over	7.1	2.8	12.0	5.3
up to 10	58.9	59.7	34.9	35.6
10 and over	41.1	40.3	65.1	64.4

Source: calculation of the IER Workshop on the Socio-Economic Rural Structure on the basis of a poll conducted in 1972.

1. There is no sharp and permanent borderline between agricultural and dual occupation families. The collectivity of dual occupation families is fluid, variable, undergoes stratification. Ever new agricultural families are being transformed into dual occupation ones; dual occupational into agricultural; the number of gainfully employed in the family and the size of farms are changing. Of 2500 dual occupation families (on farms of 0.5 ha and over with the farm operator gainfully employed elsewhere) investigated by the IER, about one half ceased to be such in 1962–1972. In 35 p.c. of these farms the farm operators gave up outside gainful employment and 4 p.c. became landless or retained plots below 0.5 ha, about 10 p.c. left the village.

The owners of the smallest farms (up to 2 ha) are averse to working off the farm primarily because of advanced age, women taking over work on the farm, the declining number of members in the family in connection with the migration of young people. Families with larger farms concentrate on farming and try to increase the size of their farms. Thus 65 p.c. of dual occupation families with farms of 5 ha and over in 1972 had larger farms than in 1962. In the 1962–1972 decade the number of dual occupation farms increased by 7 p.c. In this fluctuating situation it is difficult to say which changes determine the volume of agricultural production.

2. Dual occupation families feel the manpower shortage to a greater degree than purely agricultural families. They are as a rule big families with a larger number of gainfully employed.

3. The inflow of money from outside the farm makes possible investment in the farm and to meet its current financial needs.

It is a great simplification to maintain that outside gainful employment of the farm operator, especially when the earnings are high, must react negatively on the farm. That depends not so much on the earnings magnitude, as on the farm's function. It may be chiefly a source of income, of self-approvization, an auxiliary family occupation, a place of rest and relaxation. Under Polish conditions the first function takes pride of place.

The average per capita income is lower in dual occupation families (although it derives from two sources) than in families of farmers or workers. This is due primarily to the larger families, including children to maintain, the small size of their farms and lower vocational qualifications. In this situation, the farm in the overwhelming majority of cases provides income that counts and which it is necessary and possible to increase. Not minimizing inputs but maximizing output becomes the principle of behaviour. With a maximum of manpower and a minimum of land, the condition for attaining a general per capita income which would enable an acceptable level of maintenance is both, gainful outside employment and rational exploitation of soil.

Off the farm earnings are the simplest and most rapid source of increased family income. When that possibility is exhausted it becomes intensified production on the farm. This is made possible by the large manpower reserves of dual occupation farms, the development of mechanization services, the rising demand for agricultural products, particularly of a higher order: meat, vegetables, fruit, eggs, fowl.

The greater occupational mobility, the ease of shifting from agricultural to non-agricultural occupations, and vice versa, provide conditions for equalization of the effectiveness of labour and resource input in various fields, equalization of the income yielded by various types of agricultural labour with income from working off the farm and in reverse. This encourages the application of economic accounting on the farm and the quest of the kind of cultivation and animal breeding which yield the relatively greatest effects.

But this problem has another aspect, too. The goal of the individual farmer's activity is maximum income from the farm. That aim is somewhat modified in dual occupation families. Since the source of income is not only the farm but also outside gainful employment, the aim of activity is to maximize the general income.

The conditions of the choice of the manner of application of manpower and means of production are different here from those on exclusively agricultural farms. There are possibilities of applying labour power without complete migration from the farm. Remuneration for work off the farm enables to regard the farm not only as a means of income but also as a dwelling and a place of the family supply. Where the main source of income is outside gainful employment, the expected earnings from additional work on the farm of individuals productively active mainly off the farm and of growing children and women chiefly occupied in the household, may be lower than in families with agriculture as the main source of maintenance. The farm may be then regarded as a reserve in case of losing employment, departure of the main breadwinner, etc. and even as a place of relaxation and regeneration of vital power after hard work.

Finally, in consideration of soil quality, location of the farm, qualifications and love of family, age, size of the family and the farm and of other circumstances, the farm may be treated as an auxiliary place of work to such an extent that it is preferable from the viewpoint of the farmer to minimize labour and financial inputs. This attitude to the farm has been often raised in the literature. It was mostly associated not with the function fulfilled by the farm but with the ratio of income from the farm to income from outside employment, hence not with the causes but with effects of the farmers' decisions. The principle of minimization of inputs has also been incorrectly regarded as universal.

A great differentiation of dual occupation farms in respect of output attests to the fact that minimization of input and mximization of effects depend on the circumstances.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The existence in Poland of ever fewer exclusively agricultural villages and families is an irreversible fact in accord with the developmental tendencies of contemporary society. Various forms of part-time farming, more or less permanent, arise in the process of that development. Integral synthesis, uniform evaluation, one policy are impossible because of the heterogeneity of the phenomenon. In connection with young people who choose other occupations than work on the family farm – which is quite widespread in Poland – there arise a number of problems: adaptation to new vocations and new conditions of life and work, of schooling, ways and means of facilitating exodus from agriculture or of creating incentives to counteract it, depending on the character of the given village, family and farm. If part-time farming is connected with long trips to work, then there come to the fore the problems of communication, housing construction near the place of work, utilizing the local manpower, creating settlements. As concerns the owners of petty farms, it may be purposeful to help them dispose of the farm if it becomes a burden, make it fully productive or to increase the number and improve the quality of agricultural services thus making it easier to run the farm and the household, especially for women.

One condition for resolving the complex of problems and controversies going on for years in relation to part time farming is to clearly determine the level of generalization on which to investigate the phenomenon. A very general conception of part-time farming may suffice for solutions pertaining to the general processes of development and its accompanying conflicts. But it is different when it comes to detailed economic, psychological and sociological problems associated with vocational activity off the farm. Then the solutions are strictly determined by what kind of part-time farming is involved. This is especially true since a number of these forms are of a temporary character in given families although they may be constant in the given society. For instance, the case of the gainful employment of young people, as a phase of their leaving the family and the farm.

Distinction of the various basic forms of part-time farming is particularly important in formulating concrete recommendations for practice and for evaluating the role of these forms in economic and social development.

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DANUTA DOBROWOLSKA

SOCIAL CHANGES IN SUBURBAN VILLAGES

INTRODUCTION

The country's industrialization after the war, the structural transformations and development of the mass media effected a rapid tempo of social and cultural change in Poland's villages. Some of the most important changes are: the employment of a considerable part of the rural population in industry, the growing differentiation in the rural occupational structure, professionalization of the farmer's vocation, the rise in the rural population's educational level and the diffusion of mass culture. Although these developmental tendencies are considerably universal in Poland, there are differences in the degree of change in individual villages associated with variations in the agrarian structure, specific reginal characteristics, distance from town and industrial centres, etc.

The suburban village (subject of the present paper) seems to be a distinct type, not easy to define. Helpful here may be the conception suburban zone introduced by townplanners. They generally understand by this: a ring of ground surrounding a town which fulfills given functions towards the latter. These are: provisioning the town with quickly spoiling agricultural produce, assuring manpower to urban factories, providing lots for housing construction, municipal facilities, suburban recreation centres, for industrial plants connected with the town, etc.

Several suburban zones of different city influence intensity may be distinguished around larger cities. P. Zaremba, for instance, distinguishes, besides areas of city investment, suburban zones situated within the town's administrative borders and areas outside its borders which he in turn divides into zones of direct gravitation to the city and zones of indirect gravitation. The first fulfills a complementary housing function in relation to the city. It is mainly characterized by urban type building: complex non-agricultural one family structures with large garden plots, especially intensive gardening and orchard cultivation and animal breeding designated for city consumption, an equal proportion of agricultural and non-agricultural population, a considerable percentage of whom travel to work in the

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city, etc. The second zone embraces microregions of settlements centred around small service centres and gravitates toward the city only through the latter. Besides the range of these two zones stretches an area constituting a further hinterland of the city.[1] The range of a suburban zone is generally identical with than of a city district. B. Malisz recently introduced the concept of a settlement system which embraces settlement units (the village, settlement, town) and the surrounding areas integrally connected with them.[2]

Various criteria are applied in delineating the range of suburban zones (city region and district, settlement system). The most important are: population density, percentage of gainfully employed population working outside agriculture and the proportion of the latter who commute to work in the city. Other criteria are: the villages' agrarian structure, forms of spatial husbanding, the building movement, kind of city services used by the neighbouring population, etc.

Individual countries and regions apply different delimiting values in distinguishing rural agricultural from the suburban settlement and the latter from the city type. For example, in Poland a zone of population density of 150 – 300 inhabitants per sq km is regarded one of direct gravitation to the city. In the Paris agglomeration a density of 400 is considered the delimitation between rural and suburban areas, in Germany – 500 inhabitants per sq km., etc.[3] In recent times an ever greater role has been played by the criterion of traveling to work in town. According to Malisz, it may be conventionally accepted that if more than half the inhabitants of a village employed outside agriculture and the local services go to work in town the village is within the direct range of influence of the city.

By suburban village is hence understood one situated in a suburban zone (or one of its zones), particularly in a zone of direct gravitation to a town or its areas. This is of course not an exact definition. For it is difficult to delimit the borderline between a suburban village and a village in the process of becoming one nor between such a village and the suburban area per se. The suburban village may be conceived as a continuum: from the village which is to a small degree subject to city influence to those which are already changing into suburbs without losing their integral character.

It needs to be underscored here that the subject of the present paper is the village as a settlement unit distinct geographically and administratively[4] with its historical past and tradition of agricultural labour. Of concern here is the situation of the transition of such villages into the orbit of direct city influence and the process of social change they undergo in that connection. The present author is aware that this situation is simplified here. It has become difficult to delimit country and town, many intermediate forms have appeared, dispersed settlement are developing. While the processes taking place in suburban villages have many common traits with those occuring in other villages, especially those situated in industrialized areas but not in the immediate proximity of towns.

This study is limited to time and space. The main subject is the changes in Cracow region villages from the turn of the 19th century to the present, hence in the period of the relatively intensive growth of the cities. From 1900 to 1960 the number of the Cracow inhabitants rose from 85000 to about 500000 or nearly by 6 times whereas the city expanded from 6.9 sq km to 230 (over 33 times). During that time the suburban villages constantly increased in range. Former villages were converted into suburbs and then became central district while new villages entered the zone of city influence. Now the zone of Cracow's district influence has spread over a distance of 10–15 km from the centre and extends about 25 km in a southeasterly direction along the railway line.

The data are based on the author's own research in recent years at the Cracow centre and includes also research of other sociologists on villages in Poland and partly abroad.[5] But the paper does not constitute a synthesis of the hitherto available knowledge of suburban villages. It rather presents a number of hypotheses of limited scope in time and space which require further verification. The starting point of the research was the village Chelm situated 8 km west of midtown Cracow which has been within that city's administrative borders since 1941. At the opening of the century Chelm numbered 348 inhabitants and 814 at the end of 1966. From an agricultural village, but with an unfavourable agrarian structure, it has changed during that period into a workers' or part-time farmers' settlement. The research conducted there in 1947–1949 and 1965–1967 concerned the social changes in that village during 1900–1967.[6] Comparative material were simultaneously collected in neighbouring villages. Besides, the author organized in 1950–1952 several student field camps in the environs of Cracow for the purpose of investigating the daily movement of the rural population to work in the city in its historical development (from the turn of the 19th century). This research elucidated, among other things, the social and economic changes in the Cracow region villages.

The present paper is composed of two parts. The first deals with the general characteristics of social change. The second is devoted to selected problems of the mechanism of change.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SOCIAL CHANGES IN SUBURBAN VILLAGES

Before proceeding with the actual sociological subject matter we present a brief outline of the demographic and economic changes on which the definition of suburban zones rests. The sociological questions sensu stricto concern changes in the rural social structure, in the ties among the inhabitants, relations of the suburban villages with other communities, in the population's attitudes and aspirations, in the situation of the individual in the village.

A characteristic feature of the suburban village is the relatively rapid population growth: more rapid than in villages not in the direct influence orbit of the city but slower in general than in the suburbs. According to K. Bromek, the populations of Cracow's urban zones (Zakrzówek, Zwierzyniec, Łobzów, Dąbie, Płaszów, Łagiewniki, Borek Fałęcki, Kobierzyn, Bronowice Małe i Wielkie, Prądnik Biały, etc.) grew by 200 p.c. in 1880 – 1890 and the populations of the older suburban zones (Pychowice, Przegorzały, Bielany, Wola Justowska, Chełm, Tonie, Witkowice, Mydlniki, Rząska, Szczyglice, Zabierzów) increased by 100 percent. During 1880 – 1960 Chełm's population growth index amounted to 268, in Olszanica, more distant from the city – 150 and in Wola Justowska, nearer to the centre of Cracow than Chełm – 600.

Population growth is not always a direct function of distance from the city. Modifying factors are: the vertical and horizontal sculpture of the landscale, natural resources, communication lines, industrial plants located in the city's environs. Of great importance to the demographic growth of the Cracow region villages is the steel combine named after Lenin. The annual population increase of the villages adjacent to the mill between 1950 – 1960 amounted to 2.6 per cent.

The increase in the number of village inhabitants is accompanied by a rise in population density. According to Bromek, the population density of a kilometer long ring around Cracow is directly proportionate to the distance from its centre. Of course, the are many modifying factors in this, too. The growth of the population and its density is primarily due to migration. In measure with Cracow' economic growth and the number of new villages entering its orbit of influence there is a rise in the range of daily trips to work in the city and in the simultaneous migration from more distant to suburban villages. Some of the newcomers regard their residence in the latter as a transition to permanently settling in the city.

In measure with the expansion of the city or improvement of its means of communication commences the second wave of migration to the suburban villages or to the suburbs, namely, inhabitants of the central district begin to move there. These are either the poorer sections of the population who seek cheaper housing or the more affluent who are attracted by healthier climate and beautiful landscapes.

It is similar with the dynamics of demographic development in other urban regions in Poland and abroad: Warsaw, Poznań, Prague, Paris, Hamburg, etc. H. Kötter[7], among others, calls attention to the two-phase migration process to suburban zones when he characterizes the general changes in the rural areas in the era of industrialization. Sociologists have also devoted much attention to the stages of migration to large cities and to the process of deagglomeration.

In respect to the economy, suburban villages are characterized mainly by agriculture ceasing to be the chief source of maintenance and rise in the importance of non-agricultural occupations. While at the opening of the century at least 70 per cent of Chełm's inhabitants mainly maintained themselves by agriculture, in 1950–1960 only 30 per cent of the inhabitants belonged to that category and that proportion is even smaller today. In the villages investigated by Suliński agriculture constituted the main source of maintenance for 27 p.c. of the populations in 1950, 21 p.c. in 1960. In Modlnica as much as 75.4 p.c. of the families are now permanently tied to the city and industry by the non-agricultural occupation of the head of family or some of its members, whereas the generality of village inhabitants occupied themselves exclusively with agriculture before the war. In the more distant Mników however, with poor communications with the city, in 1960 only 27.4 p.c. of the population were employed outside agriculture despite its unfavourable agrarian structure.

Sometimes changes take place very rapidly as for instance, in the villages now situated in the hinterland of the Lenin steel combine. These villages had a relatively favourable agrarian structure, hence non-agricultural occupations were of little importance to them (in Płaszów, for instance only 3.5 p.c. of the gainfully employed population worked outside of agriculture in 1936). But with the commissioning of the steel mill and founding of the town Nowa Huta its occupational structure underwent a violent change. In 1960 non-agricultural occupations were the chief source of maintenance for 81.7 p.c. of the families of the rural settlements around Nowa Huta.

Non-agricultural occupation is often combined with work on one's farm or garden plot. Land is greatly fragmented in suburban villages as a result of some ground taken over by industrial objects, municipal facilities, housing construction as well as the growing fragmentation of farms. The latter is caused by division among heirs and the influx of people who buy parcels of land.

The declining cultivated area influences changes in land exploitation. The role of grain cultivation declines and that of vegetables and flowers rises in connection with the nearness of the city. As a result, part of the population devotes itself exclusively to that kind of cultivation while the majority combine farming with working for wages, thus creating the category of part-time farmers. The peasant farm is changing into a garden plot and it can be expected that it too will disappear in time.

Work outside agriculture is generally associated with travelling or walking to work in the city. In the investigated villages in the environs of Cracow the majority are maunal labourers and mental workers constitute a relatively small proportion. In the villages studies by Suliński 62.4 p.c. of the total gainfully employed belong to the first category and about a dozen or so to the second (in 1960). The corresponding figures for Chełm are 57.7 and 11.5 p.c. (1967). Whereas in Cracow as a whole only 43.6 p.c. of the total gainfully employed population are manual workers and as much as 41 p.c. are mental workers (1960). Thus compared to Cracow the suburban villages are eminently working class in character.

Its inhabitants' qualifications tend to rise to the degree a village is in the city's orbit of influence. The first groups of workers had no trades in general, but the desire to acquire some vocational preparation grew in time with improved knowledge of the conditions of work in the city. The number of skilled workers increases and unskilled workers come from some distant villages.

Also worthy of note is the greater differentiation in the non-agricultural occupations of the inhabitants of suburban villages. The occupational structure of these villages more and more approximate that of the city. Chełm, for instance, is characterized by a wide variety of vocations and places of work: 270 of its wage workers are employed in 100 different institutions (1967). The situation is similar in this respect in many other suburban villages. There are also highly uniform settlements connected with one plant or type of occupation. For example, the inhabitants of Kłaj and Bieżanów are mainly railroad workers; Krzyszkowice and the satellite villages of Wieliczka are inhabited by a large group of workers at the Cracow cable factory; inhabitants of Chorągwica and partly of Kłaj are employed in Cracow hospitals; the Swoszowice population – in soda factories, etc. This kind of tie is usually influenced by the proximity of the place of work and by tradition.

It is also necessary to note the growing role of gainfully employed women in the suburban villages in accord with the changes taking place in the country as a whole. Thus in Chełm, in 1948 women constitued 6.7 p.c. of the total number of wage workers and by 1967 as much as 37.1 p.c.

Most of the above developmental tendencies also appear in other urban areas. This pertains particularly to the decline of agriculture and rise in the importance of non-agricultural occupations, changes in the cultivation structure and the daily mass exodus to work in town. These changes are reflected in the attempts to typify settlements situated between industrial centres and characteristically agricultural villages with a favourable agrarian structure. P. Hesse, for instance, distinguishes settlements inhabited by workers (*Arbeitswohngemeinden*), others inhabited by workers and peasants (*Arbeiterbauerngemeinden*) and hamlets inhabited by small farmers (*kleinbauerliche Gemeinden*).[8]

The economic changes in suburban villages induce the transformation of the class and stratum structure. Traditionally land was the dominant value, provided the main source of maintenance and insurance in old age, allowed a degree of independence, freedom to dispose of one's time and sometimes even power the environment. Furthermore, possession of a farm assured a given way of life socially approved. Social status depended on possession of a farm and on its size. Other criteria of prestige also operated, such as origin from old peasant families, being long settled on the land, participation in local government institutions, but they were of lesser significance. A clear division took shape between farm owners and landless peasants and between categories of farmers on the basis of the amount of land owned.[9]

In measure with the extent of employment in town began to appear a new system of values and new criteria for the social status hierarchy. The worker's occupation and way of life began to be rated positively. Within this new system of values operated also many criteria of prestige subject to change in time. For example, before the last war steady work and high earnings played a great role; now pride of place goes to the size of income and level of consumption followed by skill and post in place of work, etc. Both systems of values were retained for some time, whether by different categories of villagers or crossed in the awareness of the same groups. As a result, linking work on one's own farm with gainful employment in town commenced to be rated positively, for it assured higher income and insurance in old age.

With the progress of rural urbanization and drawing closer to the city the first system of values lost its significance and the second became dominant. A new hierarchy of social strata appeared mainly denoted by income, consumption level and skills. The possession of one's own plot and house is valued but operating a farm is no longer attractive while farmers no longer enjoy special prestige. The division into strata is not clearly delineated though, it gives way to inter-stratum mobility even within one generation.

The family continues to be the basic element of the social structure in suburban villages, but changes occur in its functions, structure and the ties binding its members. The family's progenitive function is still of great importance but the number of children has declined. The scope of the upbringing, educational function has also declined and partly taken over by other institutions while the parents' consciousness of their educational role and feeling of responsibility has risen. The family satisfies to a greater degree its members' emotional needs, their urge for responsiveness, understanding and friendship. These changes correspond with the general developmental tendencies of the era of urbanization. Whereas the economic function of the suburban family is of a specific character. True, its productive function has been considerably limited, but it remains in many cases while the consumption role is very great. Suburban villagers as a rule eat at home and not in canteens or restaurants. Owning a house, its proper outfitting and living well in general are of great weight. The function of securing the family plays a greater role in suburban villages than in the city but a lesser one than in the typical village.

Changes in the functions of the family are associated with changes in its structure. The importance of the woman in the family rises, for on her shoulders rests the whole running of the farm, while she is ever more frequently gainfully employed outside. The young people begin to earn their own living early and become economically independent. Only students in higher educational institutions are maintained for a long time – at least partly – by their parents, but the fact that they are students causes a rise in their authority. Egalitarian tendencies, so characteristic of the urban family, are clearly discernible in the life of the suburban family.

A characteristic feature of the suburban family are the strong ties between the members of the small family. It is based not only on emotional but also on economic relations, on the possession of a common farm and home, of getting ahead together. Contributing to the stregthening of family ties is a certain territorial isolation, the crossing of the family with neighbours and common companions.

The family tie extends also to the more distant relatives. Three-generation families are quite often to be found in suburban villages running a common household. In Modlnica these constitute almost 30 p.c. of all families or rather of households (1963) and in Chelm somewhat above 30 p.c. (1967). As Markowska correctly noted, formerly the three-generation family was characterized by patriarchalism and the subordination of the younger generation to the older for the good of the farm, which is now run for the welfare of the young people for whom it is to facilitate a good start in life.

Ties with single relatives living by themselves also plays a certain role in the suburban villages. They are weaker than previously but have not disappeared. Especially strong are the relations between adult children and old parents and between their offspring who founded their own families. French and German investigators note the same phenomenon.

Hence the small suburban family has not become independent of the larger family to the same degree as the small urban family, which may be regarded as a specific trait of the latter. But it must be noted-as recent research indicates – that family relations shape up variously also in town. The large family continues to maintain its importance in some urban communities, particularly of workers. This is shown by the research of P.H. Chombart de Lauwe and his pupils in Paris, M. Young and P. Willmott in London, German scholars in Dortmund.[10] Stable family relations are in general associated with sedentary settlement and disappear with the rise of mobility.

It is similar with neighbourly ties. There is a certain weakening of these ties in the investigated Cracow region villages, but they still prevail. Neighbours on the whole know each other personally, greet each other at meetings and extend each other certain services. Only some families maintain closer, friendly relations with neighbours. Neighbourly ties undoubtedly endure because of the isolation of some groups of houses, long residence in given villages, the crossing of neighbours and relatives and often because of the needs of maintaining the farm. These ties begin to weaken however with the growth of teritorial mobility (for instance when many newcomers settle in the village in a relatively short time).

Neighbourly tie are stronger in suburban villages than in cities. But the same reservation should be made here as in the case of the family. Despite the general belief, strong neighbourly ties exist also in city communities, especially in workers' districts and petty-bourgeois localities composed of lower officials.

Consideration of the social structure of suburban villages cannot ommit the question of the generations. The older people enjoyed high authority in the traditional rural community. This was due primarily to their economic position: they were landowners and land was the foundation of the family's maintenance; the young people entering life depended upon them. That authority was associated with the immutability of economic and social relations as a result of which the knowledge of the older generation was of value to the young generation. It stemmed also from the tradition of cultural communication by word of mouth at a time when written means of transmission were lacking. With the economic dependence, strongly expressed in families of better – off farmers, was associated a social gap between the generations reflected in different spheres of social life, especially in companionate relations. Furthermore, all adult inhabitants felt obliged to control the behaviour of the young.

Changes in the economic situation of the village made the youth more and more independent of the old folks, especially economically. The latter ceased to be the highest authority for them as the experience of the older generation lost its suitability in the new conditions. Whereas the experience acquired by young people working in town was of growing value to all village inhabitants. The importance of the youth hence began to grow, while that of the older generation connected with farming rapidly declined. It is characteristic that while the social position of the parents formerly designated that of the children, now the status of the children who acquired an education and attained profitable positions often raise the status of the parents.

Omitting other elements of the social structure, we now turn to the changes in the social ties binding all inhabitants of suburban villages. It is generally known that the former agricultural village was characterized by a high degree of integration, despite class differentiation. Territorial isolation, low level of population mobility, economic ties, a common historical past, community of culture, etc. contributed to this situation. The social ties among the inhabitants were expressed in companionship, mutual aid, in the shaping of public opinion, in social control activity, in the feeling of internal community and external distinctness.

There is no doubt that a process of disintegration sets in the modern village especially if situated in industrial regions or near a large city. The inhabitants then lose interest in local affairs, their mutual contacts weaken, they are often drawn to town not only for gainful employment but also for recreation. Besides, the importance of public opinion declines and social control ceases to operate. These phenomena are noted by D. Markowska and B. Olszewska-Dyoniziak for Cracow region villages, by J. Turowski for those near Lublin and by H. Kötter for the Darmstadt region.[11]

Some authors maintain that signs of disintegration do not always appear or are transitional, sometimes leading to further integration on new foundations. For the cooperation of all inhabitants for the general welfare comes to the fore. The development of suburban villages is hence not uniform but goes through various stages.

Still to be considered are the changes in the village's contact with its wider territorial environment. The typical agricultural village was isolated; it maintained contacts at most with a group of other villages with which it had common economic interests. They sold some agricultural products to those villages, rented land, sought labour power and used the services of local handicraftsmen. Family and companionate ties and religious contacts (affiliation to a common parish) played a certain role. The inhabitants of such villages were interested in the lives of neighbouring settlements and had definite opinions about their inhabitants often based on long-lasting stereotypes.

Ties with neighbouring villages weaken in measure with the influence of the city and particularly with the intensity of gainful employment there. The village then enters a broader territorial system centred around the city. Here they meet the inhabitants of suburban settlements and mutual contacts are often limited to that. Interest in the lives of neighbouring villagers gradually disappears and the attitude to them loses its emotional colouring. These phenomena are often accompanied by the weakening the village's autonomy especially if it is included in the city's administrative borders. Relations are similar in industrialized regions.

Bringing a village into the city's orbit of influence also contributed to its establishing ties with the broader society: state, national and class. Territorial population mobility rises in connection either with employment (as chauffeurs, railroad men, for instance) or with new companionate and family contacts. Interest grows in internal tourism and new patterns of spending vacations become widespread. Institutions and societies with their headquarters in town, such as: the school attended by the village youth, political parties, trade unions, culture and sports clubs, etc. also influence the village breaking its former isolation. Of great importance in this respect are the mass media more diffuse in town than in the village.

The above changes are accompanied by the transformation of social consciousness. When they first began to enter the city's orbit of influence they still felt tied to their community and its way of life. They knew the city superficially which led to its idealization. They considered life there easier than in the village and the city as rich. They at the same time had a feeling of moral superiority and were convinced that their work was more useful than mental work. They thus looked at city dwellers with surprise and envy but also with a shade of contempt.

Frequent contact with the city on the occupational level brought a better acquaintance with the urban community. Its idealization ceased while respect grew for mental work. They gradually adapted to city way of life and system of values. The suburban villagers began to stress their city affiliation and to discard their traditional peasant aspirations and their dislike for farming assumed a radical character.

It is significant that the local population on the whole look with favour on suburban settlements or those in the city's periphery. According to them, such settlements combine the positive traits of city and country: comforts of life, nearness of stores and city recreation with the possession of a private home and garden as well as the ability to spend leisure time in the fresh air in a nice neighbourhood. This is noted by Polish and foreign investigators.

The development of contact with the wider society – through the intermediation of the city, among others – shapes among the suburban village inhabitants a feeling of identity with large social groups: the state, nation or class. They disassociate from purely local affairs and commence to interest themselves in general matters. The proximity of the city and gainful employment in industry influence the development of workers' class consciousness. Further changes in this consciousness are of a similar character as among city dwellers.

Many sociologists underscore the influence of urbanization on changes in the rural population's basic demands, needs and desires. We limit ourselves here to the needs associated with economic life and upbringing of the children. When agricultural labour was dominant the aspiration to increase the size of the farm was uppermost and was the chief motive for thrift. With the growing impact of the city the rural way of life began to be negatively rated and the children's future was associated with work in town. Consumption aspirations then began to play a decisive role. Great weight was attached to dressing carefully according to city patterns, to a better diet and particularly to building a new house. The consumption demands became very strong after the war. Suburban villagers as a rule aspire to own their own homes and to equip them with modern furniture and facilities. The young peoples' main desire is to buy a motorcycle or automobile, a transistor radio, record player and tape recorder. This is not limited to suburban villages but is widespread in communities undergoing the process of industrialization.

The attitude of these village inhabitants to the children's education, particularly those living in the city's direct hinterland, is of a specific character. In the investigated Cracow region villages no importance was attributed for a long time to the continuation of studies in secondary and higher schools. Young people from more distant villages more frequently finished higher educational institutions. This was due not only to the poverty of the peripheral settlements but also to the possibility of finding work in the near city even without possessing any trade. The question of the children's education gained in importance only in recent years when factories raised labour requirements. The vocational school has played a greater role here however than the general academic school.

There has been a general rise in the population's aspirations. While formerly satisfied with their low social position and limited opportunities, there is now a universal desire to be the equals economically, socially and culturally of the strata considered as the elite before the war. This is obviously the result not only of urbanization processes but of the changes of the social system.

The above changes, especially the broken isolation of the village by extension of its contacts with other social groups, reduced the role of the local community in the life of the individual. The former village satisfied most of its inhabitants' needs and the life of each individual was subject to a collective control. But this control became difficult when daily trips to the city expanded. The new, attractive environment absorbed ever more rural migrants and ever more strongly moulded their behaviour. However, the individual in the suburban village did not entirely free himself from the influence of the local community. Disintegration processes appear here with differing intensity; social ties and the operation of public opinion are often retained. The average inhabitant has the awareness that he could count on the support of his community in case of need, reckons with the opinions of his neighbours and strives to maintain good relations with them.

The above picture is naturally simplified. Actually the changes are more complex depending upon rural settlement's specific features, the tempo of growth of the city and its districts as on the general economic and political situation of the state.

THE MECHANISM OF SOCIAL CHANGE IN THE SUBURBAN VILLAGE

In reference to the mechanism of change we touch only on some problems mainly with the impact of the city. The first relates to the conditions in which the rural inhabitants accept the urban system of values. The closeness of the city influences primarily changes in the economic situation of the village. There is a rise in population density, in the fragmentation of peasant farms, the gearing of multi-directional farming to gardening, the increase of gainful employment in town. The economic changes in turn react on the rural social structure and the people's attitudes. In the course of time the city begins to directly influence the rural population's systems of values which in turn shape social life and economic relations. For example, the negative rating of farm work induces resignation from operating one's farm even when it is profitable. Of course, changes in the system of values are also influenced by the mass media.

There is no doubt that the influence of the city on the country is the greater the more extensive the contacts between them. In the case of suburban villages a large role is played not only by the number but also by the spheres of contact. At the opening of the century contact between the inhabitants of the investigated villages and the people of Cracow was limited mainly to official and commercial matters. The villagers met merchants, storekeepers, officials and representatives of the intelligentsia to whose homes they delivered agricultural produce. They called all those people "Sir" which to the peasants meant all those who did not have to work in the fields or do any physical labour generally. Even if they were landowners they had others work for them. The Sirs (or gentlemen) were rich, educated, wore proper city clothes and if they were friendly to the peasants were regarded as "real gentlemen". For a long time no one rebelled against the gentleman–peasant system. As recently as the turn of the fourtees the author heard the following saying in Chełm: "There must be gentlemen and peasants. We will never be gentlemen".

The influence of urban culture on the village was weak as long as a social gulf existed between the rural and urban inhabitants. The system of values, mode of behaviour and the products of urban material culture were not accepted then. The older people laughed at youth who imitated "the lords". R. Redfield touches on this question in his book *Peasant Society and Culture*: "In the city the peasant is an onlooker; he talks chiefly with other peasants. So in this case too peasant world and city world are kept apart, though in apparent contact. Inside a peasant village commercial life and agricultural life may fall into separate patterns of thought and action".[12]

The first changes on a large scale commenced when a large number of rural inhabitants began to work in town. They entered a workers' environment where they meintained relations on the level of equality. They gradually adopted the city workers' manner of thinking, their way of life and culture. Further changes began in the post-war period when the former class divisions were losing their significance. Social equality contributed to the levelling of culture and to rapid rural urbanization, which was also due to the rise in the economic level of suburban villages and to the influence of the mass media.

As for the consequences of the changes undergone by suburban villages for the successive generations, it is characteristic that the city influence is strongest among the young people. When they became adults, founded their own families and began to decide general village problems they in a way accelerated the urbanization process. They modernized their homes, introduced new forms of relaxation and enterteinment, modified family and seasonal customs. But their way of life stabilized in the course of time and only to a small degree underwent new changes. The urbanization process was again accelerated only when the next generation grew up. This development "by leaps" most clearly expressed itself in family life but was also reflected in the co-living of all village inhabitants, in the settlement's external appearance and cultural level.

When the city commenced to exert influence on the village, cultural divergence grew among the generations and often led to conflicts. As research in Chełm indicates, the greatest intensity of conflict appeared in the 1930's when the older people held on to the traditional peasant of values while the youth was already subject to strong city influence. The generation-gap declined in the course of time when the city system of values gained general recognition in the village and the conflict weakened. Now parental authority is still respected by growing children who value their experience as suitable for themselves.

As for the course of urbanization in space, we limit ourselves to one aspect of the question, namely, the influence of distance from the city. Hitherto research, especially American, often stressed that the force of impact of the city on rural areas is inversely proportional to the latter's distance from the former and directly proportional to the size of the city. Although this hypothesis is verified in its general outline in reference to Cracow, it is necessary to consider the action of many modifying factors such as: communications, agrarian structure, the tradition of hired labour, the existence of local employment centres, etc. Distance from the city becomes an important differentiating factor in the case of groups of villages with similar geographic location, economic situation, etc. In the Cracow region this pertains to the villages situated west and the former Zwierzyniec suburb at the fork of the Rudawa and Vistula rivers on both sides of the Wolski Forest ridge. These villages are: Wola Justowska, Chełm and Olszanica in the northern part of that territory and Przegorzały, Bielany and Kryspinów to the south.

Let us consider Chełm and its neighbouring villages. In Wola Justowska, situated nearer the city centre than Chełm, there is an urban settlement formed by the inhabitants of the central districts, mainly mental workers, who moved to the periphery. The remnants of the former villages are still there, but the contact of the local population with the newcomers is very weak and the local governments are not in a position to unite these varied elements. A considerable number of settlement inhabitants don't know each other personally and families live in complete isolation (avoiding the old rural centre). Urban settlement is much weaker in Chełm and the newcomers on the whole fused with the local population. The situation is similar to that of Wola and most village inhabitants work in the city, but the proportion of workers is larger and that of mental workers smaller. Former family and neighbourly ties are still maintained, but getting weaker. Ties are also maintained on a village scale based mainly on common effort for the good of the settlement. In Olszanica the decisive role is still played by agriculture, although work in the city is growing in importance. Family and neighbourly ties are still strong here and constitute the main foundation of ties on a village scale. While city influence is discernible in the adoption of some material products and certain elements of the system of values, it is not dominant.

Varied degress of urbanization intensity sometimes influence the shaping of inter-village relations. Such was the case with above described Cracow region villages. When the village community was a closed one and its contacts with the external world weak, there were frequently antagonistic attitudes towards neighbouring villagers. When the city influence grew stronger the antagonism between villages became especially marked on the basis of the degree of urbanization. The mutual dislike stemmed from the acknowledgement of two different systems of values. With the course of time this dividing line shifts ever further from the city. It is difficult of course to regard this phenomenon as a universal one. At present urbanization processes appear also in villages situated further from cities, due to the mass media and the contrasts thus lessened.

Shifting borderline of the city influence are sometimes associated with processes of disintegration, of social disorganization and cultural disharmony. We have already referred to the growth of rural disintegration with industrial development. It seems that several paths of development may be distinguished in suburban villages. There is either permanent disintegration leading to the conversion of the villages into settlements or suburbs deprived of social ties, or temporary disintegration leading to the emergence of ties on new foundations. Or there is no disintegration in general and the ties binding all members of the settlement are maintained, though they are weaker than the original. Markowska and Olszewska-Dyoniziak cite the first case. Disintegration is far-reaching in the villages investigated by Olszewska and there are signs of social disorganization (financial malpractices, dissolution of marriages).

The second type of disintegration appears in villages investigated by Sulimski. The former local ties gradually dissolve in measure with the city's influence and there is a growing desire of individuals to adapt to the new conditions of life. But the further progress of urbanization leads to the reconsolidation of the local community. For the attainment of a higher level of life (building roads, introducing watermains and sewage systems) require neighbourly cooperation. Associations are formed which embrace ever broader circles of inhabitants. But Sulimski emphasizes that the new social bonds appear only in rudimentary form in the most urbanized settlements (Bieżanów, Kłaj), while in most suburban villages there is relative disintegration proper to the transition period.

Still another type is represented by Chełm where ties on the village scale continue without interruption. This was first expressed in the family and neighbourly bonds, then in ties based on associations of the populist type characterizing villages of high cultural level. Finally, with the reorganization of local government in 1958 the activity of the Block Committee and the public leaders grouped around it promoted integration. The objective of the local leaders was to transform Chełm into a housing settlement with a high level of living and with strong social bonds. The causes of the maintenance of ties in Chełm are: the settled nature of the population, the comparatively small number of newcomers, the persistence of family bonds, the appearance already in the inter-war period of public leaders concerned with the welfare of the settlement.

The question arises whether the further influence of the city, especially with the influx of a larger number of city people into suburban villages, will not cause disintegration and if the integration noted above is not temporary.

Disintegration sometimes involves phenomena of social pathology. It seems to this author that such a situation arises when there are great differences between two communities in contact with each other and when the tempo of change is rapid. When many newcomers, for example, settle in a suburban village in a short period of time, the old social ties disappear and that may lead to temporary disorganization. A rapid tempo of change in system of values and resulting differences between the generations play a similar role. Values acknowledged by one generation cease to be valid for another which cannot fully adapt to the new system of values.

Many years ago such disorganization was supposed to have taken place in the then suburb of Zwierzyniec, in the interwar period in Wola Justowska and according to some authorities is now beginning to take shape in Olszanica. But it is not visible in Chełm because of the strong ties among the inhabitants and the relatively slow tempo of change. Nor does the disorganization phenomenon appear where the difference between the two communities is not great, when, for instance, an already strongly urbanized village comes within the city's orbit of influence. This is indicated by the example of the suburban villages round Poznań.

Cultural disharmony arises as a rule in suburban villages. Various elements of social and cultural life change at different tempos. Hence cultural products deriving from different periods and varied collectivities appear jointly. In the 1940's, for instance, Chełm's urbanized occupational structure, way of life and systems of values were far more vital than the material culture of the majority of workers who though connected with the city for years lived in old peasant cottages. Now the urbanization processes are expressed more clearly in material culture than in the educational level, interests or ways of thought.

Varied cultural elements and different systems of values coexist and often within the same generation. One may find in old peasant cottages electric washing machines and television sets while family festivities are observed according to city patterns or traditional folk customs. Cultural disharmony often accompanies the impoverishment of culture as a result of the rejection of many elements of the former folk culture while adopting only certain elements of urban culture.

All these changes react on the personalities of those they affect. Divergent beliefs, attitudes, behaviours arise among individuals. For exemple, the positive rating of the city way of life and of work in town does not exclude a negative attitude to the so-called beggars who have no land in general and whose adaptation to urban requirements and appearance may be associated with ignorance of literary language and inability to write properly. Young inhabitants of suburban villages sometimes identify themselves earlier with the city than they manage to adopt urban patterns of behaviour. They are hence at times regarded as alien in both communities which may become a source of various internal conflicts. Of course, the feeling of being alien is not as definite as when the processes of change embrace a large number of people at the same time.

But individuals are not only the objects but also the subject of change. For all changes in the local community begin with the individual. It is individuals who first start to work in town before the migration takes on a mass character. Individuals adopt city clothes and way of life and meet with criticism and contempt in the first phase. In time their mode of behaviour becomes general and meets with approval. Only a few individuals remain faithful to the rural way of life and former values. If these are older people the local community tolerates them and if young become subjects of criticism and ridicule. Most individuals are animated by a decided dislike for farm work and the old way of thinking.

There still remains the question of the role of the individual in organizing collective life, in consciously moulding rural change. It is the activity and initiative of individuals which often determine whether a village suffers disintegration or not. For all processes of change take place partly spontaneously and partly in a conscious and planned way. Consciously directed change pertains to the personal life of the individual and to collective co-living. This is clearly visible today. Suburban village inhabitants voluntarily join the urbanization process and they sometimes pay a high price for that process. They strive to raise the level of life, to build themselves new houses and to equip them technically, to buy furniture, a television set, to educate the children. All this requires expenditures, hence long hard work and much self-denial. Most burdened at present is the middle generation; the young people have an easier life start.

The conscious shaping of collective life plays a significant role in suburban villages. Some are patterned after the urban settlement of high living standards and strong social ties, which after the war may be attributed to conscious action. Among the older and middle age activists there is a definite interest in the future of the settlement expressed in concern for the young people.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In conclusion we touch on two questions relating to the space and time aspects of the above presented picture. Many of the above observations on the trends and mechanisms of change in suburban villages pertain to the contemporary Polish village, especially in industrialized regions. But the changes in all suburban villages have certain specific traits. This is without doubt associated with the fact that while the starting point situation is the same in both cases, the effects of change are different in each case. In the first case the traditional village is transformed into an urbanized one; in the second case the traditional village is converted into a suburb or urban settlement.

In suburban villages there appear primarily certain forms of transition between village and town. We may cite in this respect considerable population density, the combination of non-agricultural and agricultural occupations, transitory forms of social co-living (for instance, in family and neighbourly relations), the coexistence of two different systems of values, etc. These villages, especially those situated near a city, are moreover characterized by certain specific phenomena not applying to more remote villages or towns. Some of these are: two-directional migration, temporary social disorganization, sometimes disintegration and reintegration on new foundations within the framework of the city. Characteristic for the population of suburban villages are such attitudes and aspirations as: a stronger dislike for farm work than in other villages , even in cases where it is not rationally grounded; a desire to own a private house and garden, approval of a way of life which combines certain city and rural elements, etc.

As indicated in the introduction, the characteristics of suburban villages outlined in the present paper pertain to a given time as the frame of reference. The subject of consideration was the development of Cracow region villages from the turn of the 19th century to the present and the comparative material pertained to that period (especially for the postwar years). There is no doubt that analogical processes will take a different course with the passage of time. Even villages remote from cities represent an ever higher level of urbanization and their inhabitants are drawing ever closer to the urban population in their way of life and acknowledged values. It may be assumed that further changes effected under the influence of the city will not be as radical in the future.

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MARIA DOBROWOLSKA

THE IMPACT OF INDUSTRIALIZATION ON THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE RURAL SETTLEMENT STRUCTURES AND SOCIAL AND OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURES IN SOUTHERN POLAND

I. DEFINITION OF THE PROBLEM AND INTRODUCTORY ASSUMPTIONS

The subject of this paper is the characteristic spatial contrast in the level of socio-economic development in Polish villages, originally varying in different regions of the country, but lately moderated by the planned socialist economy. Similar contrasts can be found in all parts of the world, also in some highly developed countries, such as Italy or the U. S. The impact of industrialization reinforced by the scientific and technical revolution emerges as the leading factor in the growing urbanization and modernization of rural areas.[1] These processes coinciding with the dissolution of traditional structures and settlement arrangements, with the transition of large parts of population from agriculture to industrial occupation and from villages to towns and large urban areas have been put in the focus of the social and economic sciences.[2]

Interdependence of these processes, which have for some time continued in this country was chosen for the subject of longitudinal studies conducted under my guidance. Concentrating our investigations from 1955 on transformations of settlement structures and social and occupational structures in Southern Poland, where we could observe the development of old industrial centers and the creation of new ones, we have covered in our analysis several urban and industrial centers together with their rural background.

Our investigations encompassed four mining basins: Upper Silesia, Carpathian Oil Basin, Ancient Polish Basin and Tarnobrzeg Sulphur Basin. The research carried out in course of field studies, and as part of work leading to final degrees and Ph. D. degrees revealed a complex network of interdependencies and connections between the spatial system of industrial labor markets and the zones of their influences. Preliminary findings justified a working hypothesis to the effect that the primary factor determining the spatial structure of urban and industrial agglomeration is the set of relationships

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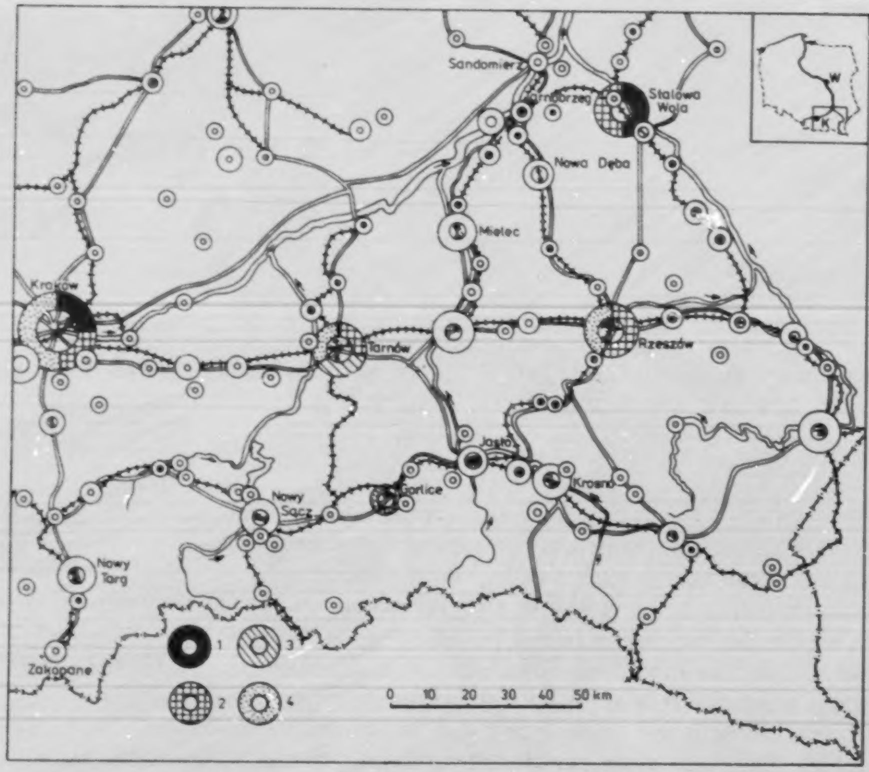
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Map 1. Industrial Centers in the South-East Poland Macroregion
1. Foundries, 2. Electrical Equipment Industry, 3. Chemical Industry, 4. Other Branches of Industry

embracing the localization of the industrial enterprise and the localization of the settlement areas of their workers. Elements of technical and social infrastructure arising from this set of conditions play a secondary role, far less important than the structure of industrial enterprise and labor market.[3] In the earliest batch of our studies we were already able to see that the massive commutation to work determined by supply and demand for labor was the leading factor in the process of transformation of the rural areas.[4]

The emergence of differentiated structures and their underlying factors (dependent on the physiographic and historical background, raw materials and energy supplies, investment outlays, etc.) has been given special attention in our study. Our complex analytical program required reconstruction of:

I. factors determining localization of centers and the density of industrial areas together with their internal structure,

II. analyses of labor market structure beyond the field of agriculture and demand for labor,

III. conditions of labor supply within rural environments,

IV. spatial array of commutation and its influence on the rural environment.

The starting point for our studies were theoretical principles of industry localization (A. Loesch), market localization and territorial division of labor, complemented with assumptions concerning formative processes in territorial industrial complexes (Kołosowski, Chardonnet).

The method of our research – reliance on statistical data, observation and interviewing combined with statistical and cartographic analyses of structures projected on spatial systems – has been already discussed elsewhere.[5] Sources and bibliography used in particular studies have also been discussed.[6]

II. PROCESSES AND STAGES OF INDUSTRIALIZATION AND URBANIZATION IN THEIR SPATIAL DIFFERENTIATION

1. The long process of transformation of the wellintegrated rural communities based on obsolete elements of feudal settlement structure into urbanized communities has not proceeded uniformally throughout Poland. The fastest rate of transformation could be observed in the course of the capitalist industrialization of the Silesian Coal-Mining Basin. In result of our panel studies, several stages of this process can be identified and forms and systems of spatial orientation of emerging social and occupational structures as well as settlement structures with all their ramifications and causal determinations can be outlined.

Silesian villages and villages of Western Małopolska were subject of particularly early influences of capitalist industrialization, and their traditional social structures fell victim to this process. In the middle of the 19th century first settlements consisting of tenant-farmer villages and farmer-owner villages were built around centers of mining, metal and lime processing industries in Opole Silesia and Upper Silesia.[7]

The increasing differentiation of social structure in the villages started their disintegration.[8] In the latter half of the 19th century (1861) 30 per cent of farm owners considered their agricultural activity a secondary employment.

These processes gained speed by the end of the 19th century in result of the emergence of numerous large enterprises, transportation facilities and settlement areas in the Silesian Coal-Mining Basin. Simultaneously, demographic explosion of certain villages caused by the inflow of labor (e.g. Katowice, Zabrze, Gliwice, Chorzów, etc.) changed them into workers districts and industrial towns. Upper-Silesian Industrial Region gained its particular identity. Acquisition of city-rights by several villages of that area in the end of the 19th century was only a formal sanctioning of the existing state of affairs.

2. The functions of the Upper-Silesian labor market were far-reaching. Coal mining centers and metal processing centers attracted labor from fairly distant mountain areas and Western Małopolska villages. They strengthened urbanization of all neighboring villages. Within a single century, functionally differentiated and structurally varied industrial and

urban agglomeration of the Upper Silesian industrial region spreaded extensively over the countryside, following the deposits of coal, zinc and lead ore, iron and other metals' ore.

A much slower rate of transformations could have been witnessed in villages of the Cracow-Chrzanów Coal-Mining Basin, Carpathian Oil Basin and Cracow Region, the only major workers' settlements in Southern Małopolska at the times of capitalist development. It was the land of proverbial "Galician poverty" with massive overseas emigration of the rural population in the latter half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries.[9]

3. Socialist industrialization introduced profound changes in the historically sanctioned systems of regional structures. Creation of new industrial centers alleviated disproportions in spatial structure and overcame the backwardness of the rural regions. The highest disproportions in the degree of industrialization between the most backward villages of Olsztyn Voivodeship and Katowice Voivodeship amounted in 1956 to 1:6.[10]

New, dynamically developing agglomerations, connected primarily with the discovery and processing of copper, sulphur or brown coal deposits, together with large industrial investments in the adjacent area, quickly transformed the settlement structure and the social and occupational structure of the formerly rural areas.[11] Most remarkable changes could be observed in villages located in the vicinity of metropolitan agglomerations or in regions undergoing a thorough industrialization. Transformations were due to processes of urbanization and commutation. Among the sixteen agglomerations identified in the investigations of the Geographical Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences, nine could be found in Southern Poland. New centers and industrial regions as well as flourishing old centers and regions have been found to be growing side by side. In these areas the number of commuters was particularly high. In 1966 the rate for Cracow Voivodeship was 440 per one thousand employed in industry, and in Rzeszów Voivodeship it was 480.[12] A good example of the transformations occurring in Poland is supplied by the processes recorded on the fringes of the Upper Silesian Industrial Region, a subject of detailed analysis by L. Pakuła and J. Rajman.[13] New differentiated industrial regions emerged and expanded with impressive speed all round the old urban agglomerations of the mining and metal processing industries on the borderlines of the Upper Silesian Industrial Region. They were connected with ore-mining: foundry – Częstochowa, chemistry and power production – Kędzierzyn and Opole, coal – Rybnik, textiles and metal industry – Bielsko, etc.

These new centers, as J. Rajman has pointed out, are the main areas of employment for workers and peasant workers who find different jobs connected with particular employment profile in a given industrial center. These centers extend their influences far in the neighborhood.

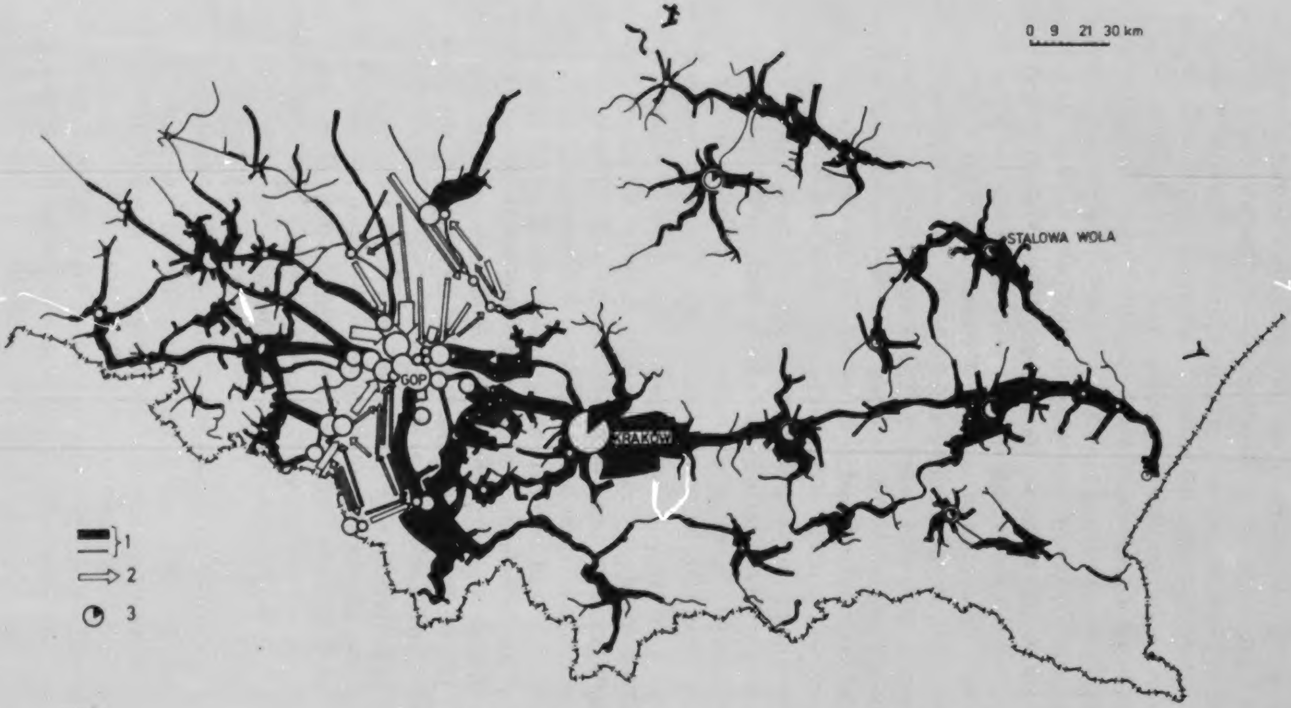
The sphere of influence of Bielsko center is twice as big as the background of Cracow, and embraces 23 towns and 107 villages (1968). Modernization of production processes affects the progress of vocational specialization of the workers still living in villages, intensifying thereby modernization of their home settlements. Rural population acquires a great variety of occupational capabilities, similar to the capabilities observed in urban areas. These processes lead to functional and social differentiation of urbanized villages of various types.[14]

The leading industrial centers lure several members of village population, who either choose permanent migration or decide to commute to their work. These centers can be found, first of all, in the Silesian Coal-Mining Basin, which offers several dynamically growing labor markets, and gives young unqualified rural population a good chance of finding employment and a fair chance of finding an appartment, and promises fast vocational advance through professional training. The varied profiles of production and labor demand[15] lead in these regions to a very pronounced differentiation of social and occupational structure and of degrees of qualification and education. Local conditions usually invite new ideas about production methods and technological progress. Our studies conducted on the fringes of the Upper Silesian Industrial Region – also in Bielsko, the old textile and metal industry center – revealed the great extent of dynamic influences underlying the process of transformations in villages, caused by the construction of an automobile factory making Fiat 126-p.[16] Upper Silesian Industrial Region manifested an increasingly differentiating structure of vocational employment in rural areas, connected with different functions of productive enterprises, transportation and services developed in the area. A strong differentiation of occupation and qualifications could be observed among different peasant-workers and among different workers populations.[17]

4. Distribution of the principal centers of industrial production with supervenient spatial systems of transportation revealed the dynamics of changes in social structure of the countryside.[18]

The synthetic presentation of commutation by J. Herma, covering part of Małopolska and Upper Silesian Coal-Mining Basin, reveals a dense network of commutation connected with intensification of urbanization processes. New, several peasant-workers settlements and worker settlements have emerged in this area. They are discussed in the study by T. Jarowiecka.[19]

The spatial system of these structures, representing commutation and social and vocational changes in the countryside of Southern Poland shows a strong correlation between the density of the industrial centers and the system of railroad and bus-route networks. Deep transformation can be found mainly in the villages closely adjacent to urban and industrial centers. The proportion of population employed out of agriculture grows very fast, apartment construction closely follows suit, the village



Map 2. Streams of Daily Commutation in Southern Poland

1. Streams of Daily Commutation – Breadth of Lines Proportional to the Number of Commuters, 2. Direction of Commutation – Breadth of Arrows Proportional to the Number of Commuters, 3. Size of Circles Proportional to the Number of Commuters Employed in a Given Place by J. Herma, according to M. Dobrowolska; J. Herma, J. Rajman, first published in J. Herma: *Dojazdy do pracy w Polsce Poludniowej* (*Commutation to work in Southern Poland*). „Prace Monograficzne WSP w Krakowie", Vol. 5, Cracow 1966

becomes quickly urbanized. These areas can be contrasted with the extensive region of mountain villages situated on the ridge between parallel railroad lines going along the *rivers in the Middle Beskid and the* Carpathian foot areas. Likewise, the transformed villages contrast strongly with all Beskid countryside isolated from any contacts with labor markets beyond agriculture. Deprived of a chance to make an additional income, populations of these villages find themselves in an economic stalemate and often decide to leave their homes in search of more profitable employment.[20]

Emergence of new industrial centers in the backwarded areas of Małopolska is a crucial fact, determining the rate and scope of new social and occupational structures formation. Overpopulated villages whose inhabitants remain at a low level of productive forces development, are isolated from contacts with the centers of economic development and find themselves unable to fight effectively against economic and cultural stalemate.

A significant example of the role that industry can play in the countryside organization is the Sandomierz Valley, extending in the Northern part of Rzeszów Voivodeship in the junction of the Vistula and the San rivers. Great industrial investments made by the national economy, the development of the sulphur processing industry in the 60's, brought important economic, social and cultural changes into this underdeveloped area of Poland.

III. THE ROLE OF THE TARNOBRZEG INDUSTRIAL CENTER IN THE INTRODUCTION OF CHANGES IN THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STRUCTURE AND IN THE SETTLEMENT STRUCTURE

1. Deep transformations of the social and economic structure connected with creation of the sulphur works Tarnobrzeg have been reconstructed in our panel studies.[21] The studies extended over the whole area of sulphur deposits found on both sides of the Vistula river, in the area extending over parts of three voivodeships: Rzeszów, Kielce and Lublin. The investments accelerated the development of the region which now constitutes the core of the new Tarnobrzeg Voivodeship, created in 1975.

Our studies were made prior to the organization of the voivodeship. When in 1960, in the course of field studies undertaken with the view of making final degrees and doctoral dissertations we scrutinized the changes we were facing and compared them with the state of affairs in 1930[22] the full scope of the success of the socialist industrialization lept to the eyes. Overpopulated villages round Tarnobrzeg, employing primitive agricultural tools, deprived of electricity and separated by several miles from the effective transportation networks, subsisting on poor soils, inhabitated by population consisting mostly of illiterate persons, found themselves all of a sudden in the center of the sulphur industry construction, in the mainstream of the strong trends to modernization.[23] Direct participation of the rural population in the industrial production at a superior technological level was a decisive factor in the course of their transformation. The impact of these influences was further magnified by the fact that they were bringing in elements of a new social system.

2. Differentiated physiographic and historical backgrounds played a major role in the social and economic development of the Tarnobrzeg industrial center. The Vistula divides that area into two micro-regions of specific and unlike natural character and of different social and economic conditions. These differences were determined by natural influences and historical facts: the Małopolska Plateau on the left bank of the river had once been part of the Russian empire, while the Sandomierz Valley on the right bank of the river had been part of the Austrian empire. The two parts were very different with respect to the level and the profile of their economies. The left bank economy relied on agriculture, orchards and production of vegetables, the right bank economy on husbandry, forests and industry.[24]

An air of out-of-dateness and backward methods of economic production characterized the inhabitants of the Sandomierz Valley, containing numerous villages of "forestdwellers" – the people who once populated the primeval Sandomierz forest. Their communities strongly contrasted with a narrow belt of settlements scattered along the Vistula, San and Wisłoka rivers, lying on fertile soils, counted among the best soils in Poland, and inviting very efficient mixed agriculture and animal raising farms engaging additionally in the production of vegetables. The role of these near-river settlements was further augmented by the fact that the principal transportation routes ran along the rivers. Old medieval towns, which presently have taken up industrial functions, like Tarnobrzeg, Mielec, Stalowa Wola, Rozwadów and Gorzyce were also located on those narrow belts of river banks.

Bifurcation of that area which had formally constituted one Sandomierz Voivodeship by the frontier between the two empires had adverse effects for the transportation networks – almost totally out-in-two by the line of the Vistula river – and deprived the left river bank areas of a satisfactory transportation network. It was also responsible for a complete resignation from using the river as a transportation route. In times of the capitalist economy, early elements of industrial activity relied on exploitation of peat and clay, on agricultural crops and wood industry thriving on extensive forests belonging to large estates. First bigger industrial investments were made only after the creation of independent Poland in the framework of the Central Industrial Region expansion in 1937/38. Three minor industrial centers: foundries in Pława – Stalowa Wola, and machine industry in Dęba and Gorzyce marked the beginnings of a polycentric network of small industrial centers which have grown today into a sulphur and metal processing industry of Tarnobrzeg Voivodeship. Early industrial endeavours could not cope with the over-population of the rural households living from small agricultural plots. Massive exodus of population to take seasonal jobs overseas was a typical phenomenon. The Second World War, destruction of Tarnobrzeg with its several enterprises, particular intensity of battles, extermination of the Jewish population, burning down of villages, displacement of population enforced by the German occupation forces deteriorated economic and cultural underdevelopment of the area and resulted in a complete disorganization of its life.

3. Creation of mines and sulphur processing factories in the vicinity of Tarnobrzeg on the former grounds of villages Piaseczna and Machowa, on both banks of the Vistula, started a dynamic development of a new industrial center, lying only a few miles away from the hydrographic junction of the Vistula and San rivers. Processes of industrialization and urbanization were combined with social transformations quite unlike the changes which could have occurred in capitalist economy. So their possible scopes could be compared only partially.[25] The whole set of conditions was now quite different. The crucial factor was nationalization of means of production and introduction of planned economy, which provided for creation of new transportation networks, power plants and residential settlements according to designs worked out in advance. Planned economy exerted formidable influence on the scope, directions, course and spatial extent of transformations owing to the fact that it could control all investment outlays and decision making processes determining the forms of production, employment, settlement, etc.[26]

Alongside the creation of sulphur processing industry two processes have been evolving:

I. organization of technical and economic infrastructure;

II. appropriation of farm lands and deterioration of environments, which inevitably followed the development of sulphur industry.

A considerable growth of investment outlays from 2.8 billions zlotys in 1964 to 11 billion zlotys in 1980 (similar outlays in Płock totalled 10 billion zlotys and in Turoszów – 11 billion zlotys) created conditions for rapid economic development of Tarnobrzeg region. Deep changes of the technical and economic infrastructure were introduced by a new railroad line between sulphur excavating works in Piaseczno and processing factories in Machów[27], by a new bridge on the Vistula, north-west of Tarnobrzeg and by expansion of electricity and gas supplying networks. These transformations united the left and right banks areas of the Tarnobrzeg Basin at the very first stages of sulphur processing industry organization. The growth of processing works encouraged development of railroad and bus systems, which now connected the old and the new urban and industrial centers: Stalowa Wola, Sandomierz, Tarnobrzeg and Nowa Dęba making out of them a compact polycentric spatial system of settlements emerging all over the Tarnobrzeg industrial region.

But we should not overlook negative after-effects of sulphur industry which imp-ded realization of goals instituted by planned economy. The new industry destroyed equilibrium of natural processes in their geographic environment. Excavation of sulphur deposits extending under the grounds of almost twenty villages and production of sulphuric acid were responsible for a number of phenomena adversely affecting local agriculture: destruction of sowing grain by noxious sulphur oxides, contamination of water with industrial wastes from the processing works, and general pollution of human biological environment. The expansion of industrial enterprises led to complete destruction of Piaseczno and Machów villages. By 1990 more villages will have been pulled down: Jeziórko, Ocice, Kaimów, Niechocin and Magnajów. Some investments will also be made in Dąbrowice and Cygany.[28] These changes will undoubtedly cause disorganization of the spatial settlements systems and provoke changes in forms of land cultivation, typical consequences of the first stage of industrialization. Characteristic spatial disproportions in the conditions of daily life between villages intact by industrialization and villages affected by developing urbanization and industry, are soon to be seen. Dramatic reduction of space in settlements of peasant-workers' families have been observed in all industrialized areas. Specific side-effects of sulphur excavating and processing industry have to exacerbate additionally these processes.

IV. FUNCTIONS OF LABOR MARKET IN TRANSFORMATION OF STRUCTURE OF EMPLOYMENT

1. Starting from the theoretical assumptions of geographical division of labor, and being convinced of its important function in the process of urbanization, we had to concentrate on local and regional systems and structures of labor markets within the Tarnobrzeg industrial region and to analyze them step by step against gradual development of the industry. Urban labor markets in Tarnobrzeg industrial region – similarly to the Ancient Polish Basin and the Carpathian Oil Basin – are, relatively speaking, small labor markets.[29] But even so, social and economic ramifications of their operation are far reaching. Their size may be assessed at 5 to 15 000 work-places, which is not much when compared with several times bigger labor markets of the Silesian Coal-Mining Basin. In the spatial structure of labor market in Tarnobrzeg region the leading position belongs to Stalowa Wola and Tarnobrzeg, the two towns attracting the largest proportion of free labor unemployed in agriculture. The remaining free labor moves to the neighboring town, Sandomierz, or to even smaller centers like Nowa Dęba, Rozwadów, Gorzyce, Skopań and Baranów.

A polycentric system of labor market seems to emerge in that new industrial region.

2. Sulphur processing works strongly influence the development of the whole Tarnobrzeg region. Complex shifts of transient population, ultimately directed toward two dynamically growing centers: Tarnobrzeg and Stalowa Wola, transform traditional settlement structures and hierarchic urban systems before they finally stop in their points of destination. The greatest inflow of the transient population was noted in Stalowa Wola and Tarnobrzeg, the next place was taken by Sandomierz, once a capital of the whole voivodeship, whose recent demographic growth edged over Nowa Dęba, and was clearly more pronounced that of Niska, Kolbuszowa and Staszowa, the seats of local administration. While the craftsmen towns like Ulanów or Koprzywnica have been stagnating or declining.

The inflow of new population to Tarnobrzeg, which is now the center of sulphur industry and houses majority of the workers from Siarkopol, caused a fourfold increase of the town from 4 400 population in 1957 to 18 900 in 1970 plus 1 600 persons registered as temporary inhabitants.[30]

The migration processes in Tarnobrzeg and the range of their influence displayed the same characteristic traits which could be seen in other industrialized centers.[31] Newcomers arrived from all parts of Poland, but most of them (75 p.c.) moved in from the same voivodeship or region. In the first phase of industrialization rural population constituted slightly over 50 p.c. of inhabitants. The newcomers at that time were typically single, young workers without qualifications and with primary education at the best. Then an inflow of persons with high qualifications started: engineers, economists and technical specialists came from industrial centers of Upper Silesia, Lower Silesia and Cracow. From 1962, when a number of apartment buildings for the crew of the sulphur processing works were erected, more and more often two, three or four persons' families settled in.[32]

The functions of the socialist industrialization are best reflected in the transformation of the old community with its typical small town characteristics, preponderance of administrative activities and services, populated by petite bourgeoisie, clerks and craftsmen[33] into a genuine workers' community, dynamically improving their vocational qualifications.

The majority of persons employed in Tarnobrzeg are presently technical specialists – 30 p.c. are graduates of high technical school or technical universities, 35 p.c. have primary technical education. The most common vocational qualifications are those of a blacksmith, lathe-operator, electrician, miner, chemistry specialist and economists. A great number of people who have now settled in the sulphur basin lived as children in that area, or married women who lived there and presently found employment in numerous service enterprises of Tarnobrzeg. A great number of employed persons, mainly workers, obtained their qualifications after having moved into the town. Good chances for improving education and occupational advancement plus frequent family ties with the local population built in them a feeling of close association with Tarnobrzeg. Their personal plans are connected with the town and rely on the good working conditions, good pay and available apartments that the inhabitants believe can be easily found there.[34]

Personnel with professional qualifications and high or higher education usually came to Tarnobrzeg in earlier phases of the sulphur works construction, and by now most of them have left Tarnobrzeg for new centers of industrial development. Every next stage of Siarkopol construction attracted new sorts of people from all over Poland. The groups of newcomers were highly differentiated and their past experience was very different.[35] Many of them were itinerant workers who started their careers in villages or small towns, then moved from place to place accepting different jobs on their way until they ended up in bigger centers of industrial activity like Silesia, Warsaw, Cracow, Ancient Polish Basin or Stalowa Wola. Unlike the groups of nonmigrating workers, only some of them intended to remain in Tarnobrzeg for good. Most were inclined to leave, and as the main reason of this decision mentioned the destruction of biological environment.[36]

The trends that are found to be dominant at the present suggest that the percentage of workers' population of increasingly higher education will continue to grow in Tarnobrzeg[37], These trends result from the development of vocational schools in the town and creation of higher educational establishments and specialistic research institutes concentrating on problems of sulphur processing – the endeavor relying on the industrial potential of a center which has already won a worldwide reputation. Along with its industrial functions Tarnobrzeg has become the center of decision making concerning sulphur production and the development of services, technical background and housing. This role is reflected by the growth of transportation system with Tarnobrzeg in its center and the construction of new railroad and bus lines between Tarnobrzeg and Warsaw, or Tarnobrzeg and other voivodeship cities.

Now, after the creation of a new voivodeship with Tarnobrzeg appointed as its capital, the town will assume new complex administrative, legal, economic and social functions and will have a further stimulus to rapid development. Functionally connected with sulphur works, processing factories and mines in Machów and Jeziórko (and in a short time also in Piaseczno) Tarnobrzeg will make the center of a linear urban agglomeration consisting of a number of towns: Stalowa Wola – embracing both industrial and transportation functions, Sandomierz, Nadbrzezie, Gorzyce – performing administrative and industrial functions and offering services as tourist places and Baranów and Skopanie that have already assumed industrial roles along with historical relicts preservation.[38]

3. Commutation has an important role in the transformation of social and vocational structure of the rural background. Commutation of rural population to the local and regional urban and industrial centers is a leading factor in the process of rural community transformation.[39] Extensive spheres of commutation which had been always typical for the area surrounding Tarnobrzeg now extended to four neighboring regions of Sandomierz, Staszów, Kolbuszowa and Mielec, in certain directions extending even down to the villages of Lublin Voivodeship.[40] The zone of commutation embraces presently the whole area of Tarnobrzeg Voivodeship. The majority of workers (80 p.c.), however, live only about one hour's drive from the place of their employment, in villages scattered along the transportation routes, which have a primary role in the determination of spatial systems of the employment structure. More and more dense network of bus lines made the system of commutation more uniform and more widespread at the same time.

The labor market connected with sulphur industry affected rural background in different ways both with regard to its spatial influence and to its influence on intensity of work in different employments beyond agriculture. Extensive areas of Staszów and Kolbuszowa regions remained beyond the limits of this influence, though the demand for labor in Tarnobrzeg is also limited by the demand for labor in Stalowa Wola. In 1962 approximately 3000 persons commuted from Tarnobrzeg region to Stalowa Wola (10, 20 or even 30 persons or more from some villages). Some of the labor force from Tarnobrzeg vicinity was driven to Sandomierz and Gorzyce. Mechanical works of Nowa Dęba, however, seemed unable to attract workers to Kolbuszowa region.

Our studies led us to believe that industrial centers tended to employ commuting workers on the positions requiring inferior qualifications.[41] Such was also the initial situation in Tarnobrzeg. The level of qualifications of commuting workers was rather differentiated, but generally rather low. Workers in sulphur-mine in Piaseczno were mostly old people, heads of families with no better education than a few classes of primary school. Complex sulphur industry (chemical works producing sulphuric acid and superphosphats, mechanical works, electricity and hot-water plants, etc.) discriminated between vocational groups. Commuters employed in Machów (80 p.c. of commuters from the right river bank villages in Tarnobrzeg region) had usually better education than other commuters and in the course of the sulphur industry works construction their qualifications tended to improve. They were also of younger age than other commuters.

The majority of commuters to Tarnobrzeg center were peasant-workers. According to the survey made in 1962 a majority of those workers were farm owners possessing from 0.5 to 2 ha of land. The percentage of owners of bigger farms was also considerable. But almost exclusively family heads commuted to work.[42] In the decade 1960–1970 important changes could be noted in the structure of labor market and in its influence on the neighboring villages. More specialized production and higher technological level of productive processes made it necessary to employ persons with better occupational preparation, and consequently the role of commuters with basic vocational or high technical education perceptibly grew. New possibilities of employment beyond agriculture strongly affected territorial division of work in Tarnobrzeg industrial center. Preliminary assessment of the index representing percentage of people employed out of agriculture showed that spatial systems of division of labor have considerably differentiated in the past decade from much below 50 p.c. to much over 50 p.c. of local employment beyond agriculture. Semi-urbanization of villages proceeded rapidly. Tarnobrzeg villages had the beyond agriculture employment index almost equal to the index of Opole region. The causes of this situation are different in these two cases. Villages in Opole voivodeship were industrialized a long time ago, and now a great part of their labor force is locally employed in small industrial enterprises. In Tarnobrzeg region the majority of persons employed out of agriculture were peasant-workers and workers commuting to the industrial center of the region. To this day Tarnobrzeg region has low index of urbanization – 32 p.c., against 47% in Konin region and 66 p.c. in Lubin region. Rural settlements of peasant--workers were sometimes inhabited by people whose majority (60 to 70 p.c.) worked beyond agriculture, and that led to rapid transformation of the villages. Tarnobrzeg region sets off the rest of the voivodeship due to its profoundly transformed social structure: 75 p.c. of its total population made their living beyond agriculture, whereas in other regions only a minority were found in that position – in Sandomierz region 44 p.c., in Kolbuszowa region 41 p.c.

V. DIFFERENTIATION OF URBANIZATION ZONE IN TARNOBRZEG INDUSTRIAL CENTER

1. Identification of influence zones surrouding urban and industrial centers and constituted by a network of commutation routes was the starting point in our study of the scope and character of current transformations. Upon a preliminary analysis of the data we came to believe that there was a great discrepancy between theoretical attempts to describe processes of urbanization, emergence of settlement structures and formal systems of their presentation on one hand, and the hard fact on the other.[43] Our analysis was conducted with the view of reconstructing the pattern of new structures appearance by a recourse to the dynamics of transformations which could be discerned in the relationships to demographic, social, voacational and settlement phenomena. We noticed a fast rate of substantial changes initiated by massive commutation and massive migration of population. Emergence of new peasant-workers and workers' settlements in the formerly

rural area triggered a landslide of profound changes. Population surrounding industrial centers grew rapidly, and its age and sex structure underwent significant changes. Farms were divided into smaller units or completely declined. Construction of apartment buildings grew very dynamically. Heads of families sought employment out of agriculture and the main burden of field work fell on the women. New forms of agricultural and husbandry production were favored. Traditional rural communities fell apart, traditional ties dissolved, and village communities turned into workers settlements.

These phenomena were by no means isolated; they have been observed in the industrial areas all over Western Europe (France, Belgium, GFR, Austria, etc.), they have also been noted in socialist countries, e.g. Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.[44]

Transformations can be assessed and measured. Urbanized areas can be differentiated according to the scope and degree of transformations which occur in them. They can also be differentiated with regard to different rates and variabilities of changes even though they are rather difficult to observe and assess in urbanization studies because a great number of short living phenomena appear after a clash of two cultures: the peasant-workers culture and the industrial and urban culture. When the elements of the traditional culture have fallen apart, new and often tentative forms of life associated with industry, urban culture and urban styles replace them in a haphazard way.

In what category of transformations shall we put the process of emergence of an urbanized agglomeration in Tarnobrzeg industrial center? What are the typical traits of these transformations?

The specific polycentric system of industrial agglomeration and differentiated geographical and historical background influence spatial systems and the degree of countryside urbanization. Pertinent processes evolve unequally. Their course is determined by the system interrelationships which can be visualized in the set of appropriate indices projected on a map including:

I. growing percentages of family heads and other family members employed out of agriculture (30 – 50 p.c.);

II. indices of education and vocational qualifications,

III. workers' settlements and peasant-workers' settlements with differentiated social and occupational structure;

IV. indices of income earned from industry or from other activities out of agriculture (from 2 to 10 thousands zlotys annually per household);

V. percentage of households equipped with electric supply;

VI. transformations of settlement structure (i.e. index of investments in apartment buildings and percentage of apartments with several rooms).[45]

Processes of urbanization initiated by the development of industry proceed in Tarnobrzeg region with varied speed. Our findings permitted identification of three specific social, economic, settlement and cultural regions. Fast changes have been observed in Tarnobrzeg region, and especially in the vicinity of Tarnobrzeg: Machowa, Stalowa Wola and Sandomierz-Turzyce. All these areas are located in valleys stretching along the Vistula and San rivers, connected with transportation network, traditionally known to have superior economic standards, more susceptible to processes of industrialization and urbanization, highly populated, characterized by high indices of labor and mechanization, containing quickly growing workers and peasant-workers settlements, populated by persons with relatively high level of education and vocational capabilities. Inhabitants of this region collect steadily increasing incomes from employment out of agriculture and make increasing gains from agricultural production as well. Construction of apartment building grows very quickly and the interior outfit of the apartments is fairly high (bathrooms, garages, etc.). Here also the strongest clash between intensive commodity production or vegetable production and the industry can be observed.

The left river bank part of Tarnobrzeg industrial region, i.e. the sub-regions of Staszów and Sandomierz retained their agricultural character except for the area surrounding the industrial and settlement center dependent on the sulhpur mine in Grzybów (and to a certain degree around the now closed down sulphur mine in Piaseczno) and in the vicinity of Sandomierz-Dwikozy. Electrification of villages in that area was somewhat delayed. Indices of population employed beyond agriculture did not reach 20 p.c. in the northwestern part of the region.

Kolbuszowa microregion together with the southern part of Tarnobrzeg region survived until recently without succombing to economic advancement in their isolation among Sandomierz forests. Now they have become exposed to the processes of profound transformations whose results can be best seen in the development of bus-transportation and new railroad lines. The lowest indices of urbanization are found in villages separated by long distances from industrial centers.

3. Traditional rural communities turn into industrial and settlement agglomerations. Appropriate indices reflect this transfer but they are only an initial proof of the transportation of a rural community into a workers' community. More substantial processes underlie these changes: the peasants reliance on their rural household on the one hand, and their strengthening ties with enterprises offering industrial employment on the other. Intimate ties among family members based on common work in the rural household and the system of integrating ties binding several households into a local rural community are broken and replaced with new individual and communal ties developing in industrial and service enterprises of urban agglomerations. These new ties are formed by new working relationships. Emergence of new systems of territotial division of labor, taking form of so-called production and settlement agglomerations is a typical trait of those regions which at given time undergo urbanization.

Now the theory of production and settlement agglomerations found empirical support from analysis of transformation mechanisms underlying the structure of rural populating employment in industrialized regions. Studies by T. Jarowiecka and J. Rajman discussed different stages of growth and different types of agglomerations in the context of:

I. different raw material resources and different types of industrial development;

II. unequal economic infrastructure together with technical and social differentiation of rural regions;

III. varying supply and demand for labor force and intensity of housing investments.

These unequal conditions produced different influence zones around industrial centers and different agglomerations with varying sizes of employment and different spatial extent. Big agglomerations situated on the fringes of the Upper Silesian Industrial Region had from 20 to 40 thousand employed persons. Within each agglomeration characteristic differentiation of social and vocational structure, of education and qualification standards could be found. The Silesian Coal-Mining Basin was surrounded by agglomerations inhabited by workers with specialized vocational qualifications. In mining settlements of Rybnik industrial region coal-miners constituted 70 p.c. of population employed beyond agriculture. In the vicinity of Bielsko the majority of inhabitants were textile workers or workers employed in metal processing industries. Agglomerations of Tarnobrzeg Industrial Region developing in the decade 1960 – 1970 must be ranked among relatively small settlements. In 1960 no more than 8500 persons were found in Tarnobrzeg agglomeration against 24300 in Stalowa Wola agglomeration. But Tarnobrzeg settlements expanded rapidly, reaching 12000 in 1965 and 20000 in 1970. This growth was primarily due to the development of sulphur processing works.

A detailed analysis of the sulphur processing works supplied vital information on the structure of commuters, respective to geographical areas from which they commuted, their age, education, etc. Other agglomerations inhabited by people employed in local industries of Sandomierz-Gorzyce, Nowa Dęba, Kolbuszowa and Dwikozy have not developed so quickly, and on the average they do not embrace presently more than a few thousand workers each. However, some important changes in the social and vocational structure of rural settlements surrouding these centers could also be noted. Permanent employment assured by industries, and their particular aptness to develop specific tradition (e.g. in Stalowa Wola – Rozwadów) contributed to the formation of strong ties between particular enterprises of highly structurized employment and rural population employed by them.

Territorial analyses of division systems of labor outside agriculture conducted by T. Jarowiecka over the extensive area of Tarnobrzeg Industrial Region proved together with the finding of Z. Bobek concerning commutation[46] that rural, social and occupational structures were deeply differentiated within the emerging production and settlement agglomerations.[47] The study of T. Jarowiecka, based on a representative sample of 51700 families (100 p.c. families in 357 villages) supplied firm evidence concerning:

I. sizes of farm;

II. employment in and beyond agriculture of heads of family and other family members;

III. geographical distribution and number of persons in families of different types (worker families, peasant-worker families, farm worker families and peasant families).

This evidence served as a basis for assessment of transformation degree in different villages and of correlation between employment outside agriculture and particular family traits in their spatial distribution.

Tarnobrzeg villages are in the initial stage of transformations. But the changes come very fast. The type of worker family living on a small plot of land is not popular as yet. In 1965 only about 5.1 p.c. of such families were found in Stalowa Wola – Rozwadów agglomeration, Sandomierz or Mielec. In the area closely adjacent to Tarnobrzeg prevalence of families of worker structure has been observed in four villages on the right bank of the Vistula river. In the remaining 19 villages peasant-worker families retaining farms from 0 – 5 ha were the most common type observed. It was typical to find that in Tarnobrzeg region outside agriculture employment was usually secured by heads of families. In 11900 households of the ten agglomerations covered by the survey, two thirds of persons employed outside agriculture were heads of families. This trend was particularly strong in Tarnobrzeg agglomeration, where vocational differentiation of persons employed in industry and transportation was very strong. In villages located at a far distance from industrial centers commuters were mainly in construction. In such cases commuting workers were predominantly family members. Polycentric systems of agglomeration and dense networks of bus routes led to very strong differentiation of vocational structure within particular villages or even households. Overlapping influences of Stalowa Wola, Tarnobrzeg and Sandomierz compounded this differentiation, providing very different workplaces and requiring highly varied qualifications and levels of education from different workers. Particularly strong differentiation could be found among peasant-worker families in Tarnobrzeg agglomerations who permanently relied on two sources of income. A new phenomenon has been observed lately when more and more women of the young generation began to seek employment beyond agriculture.

Transformations of social vocational structure of inhabitants of recently urbanized areas do not merely go through basic stages from peasant, farm worker, peasant-worker and worker ways of life. There are many more intermediate forms of strongly differentiated structure, especially among families relying on several different employments at the same time. The wide array of occupations and structural differentiations is an important criterion and index of progressive urbanization of villages.[48]

VI. VARIABILITY OF RURAL URBANIZATION AND DETERMINANTS OF DIFFERENTIATION

The process of rural urbanization can be studied from different points of view, by putting emphasis on different features and factors involved in the changes, and namely on:

I. degree of hierarchic organization of the settlement system and its legal and organizational functions: village, agglomeration of villages, wider agglomeration, etc.;

II. social and economic functions (industry, mining, transportation, touristic services, etc.):

III. degree of social and vocational structure transformation (from rural villages, through intermediate forms to a workers settlement).

In all these transformations industrialization is a crucial factor. Its most direct consequence is almost total disappearance of people completely deprived of means and property, the semi-proletariat and proletariat, which only a few years ago constituted a considerable proportion of rural population. The growing percentage of peasant-worker and worker population is more and more closely dependent on industrial employment, transportation, services and administrative offices, contributing thereby to better integration of villages with towns, and peasants with workers and officials. Naturally, specific forms of integration, conducive conditions and particular stages of changes are different in different parts of Poland. Villages in the Sandomierz Valley, socially and economically backward until the Second World War, relied basically on natural economy. Until the recent electrification they were isolated from all outside agriculture labor markets[49] and strongly contrasted with villages lying along the Vistula and San rivers where methods of intensive agricultural production found strong support. In the past, the latter area witnessed spontaneous peasants' movements, culminating in the "Republic of Tarnobrzeg" where social contrasts befor the Second World War had particularly acute forms and caused massive emigration from overpopulated small farms unable to overcome their poverty and inefficiency on their own.[50] A wide array of human characters, from very traditional to fairly progressive could be found in local communities of Tarnobrzeg region even after the Second World War.

Socialist industrialization started a series of processes accelerating economic and cultural progress in villages. Electrification was one of the crucial factors. Until the Second World War no more than three percent of villages were equipped with electric supply in the total area of six regions covered by the survey. In the last decade all villages were almost totally electrified. However, significant differences could be observed in utilization of electricity between the left and the right riverbank areas. On one side electric supply was utilized mainly as a source of light, on the other it was basically a source of motor power. These differences coincided with differences in employment structure. The greatest number of electric motors was installed in villages and peasant worker households relying on two sources of income. Exodus of male labor force from agriculture was partially compensated with mechanical devices powered with electricity. These conditions led to technical modernization of economy and introduction of modern agricultural equipment and household appliances.[51]

The course of countryside electrification over the extensive area of Tarnobrzeg Industrial Region had considerable economic, social and cultural ramifications, decisive for further progress of countryside.

Socialist industrialization influenced with particular strenght those attitudes of rural population which concerned education and improvement of qualifications. Peasant-workers and workers employed in industrial and urban centers found themselves under pressure from enterprises which gave them employment to improve their vocational qualifications and educational.[52] Young rural generation tends to prefer industrial employment which requires improvement of occupational skills but very often remain in villages unwilling to move into towns. This attitude, reinforced by hastily developing apartment constructions in urban style, accelerates disintegration of local rural communities. These processes could already be observed in 1965 in narrow belts of villages surrounding industrial centers and covered by networks of commutation bus routes. The following tables give selected indices concerning levels of education among inhabitants of villages Mokrzyszów and Krawce employed outside agriculture.

Table 1

Education	Total		Men		Women	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Higher	10	1.8	7	1.4	3	2.2
Secondary liberal	97	15.8	43	9.0	54	41.2
Secondary vocational	42	6.8	30	6.2	12	9.2
Basic vocational	208	33.9	88	39.0	20	15.4
Basic	256	41.7	214	44.4	42	32.0
Total	613	100.0	482	100.0	131	100.0

Source: Registrar's Books and author's computations.

Table 2

Education	Total		Men		Women	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Higher	1	1.5	1	1.8	–	–
Secondary liberal	6	9.2	2	3.7	4	36.3
Secondary vocational	6	9.2	2	3.7	4	36.3
Basic vocational	8	12.4	8	14.8	–	–
Basic	44	67.7	41	76.0	3	27.4
Total	65	100.0	54	100.0	11	100.0

Village Krawce lying outside the limits of commutation bus routes had much lower indices of education than village Mokrzyszów lying in close vicinity of Tarnobrzeg.

Intensive growth of the networks brought transformation processes into the underdeveloped villages of Sandomierz forests. In 1970 every settlement of that region had up to 20 bus connections daily plus organized transport of workers by individual industrial enterprises. The latter form of commutation organized by big industrial works was particularly convenient, and several ambitious young workers gladly took up jobs in large companies which insured them high prestige and good social standing.

Employment offered by modern industrial enterprises of increasingly higher technical standards was an important factor facilitating inflow of innovations to villages and agriculture. In the area surrouding sulphur processing works in Tarnobrzeg (though in fact the same phenomena have also been observed in the vicinity of the Drilling Equipment Factory in Gorlice, or Chemical Works in Oświęcim, etc.) several peasant-workers were employed who turned out capable of adapting a number of advanced technical ideas to the needs of their farms.[53] This kind of progress and modernization of villages could not have been possible without electrification. Now, it is additionally reinforced by motorization, i.e. increasing purchases of motorcycles and cars by village inhabitants employed in industrial enterprises. Intensive growth of apartment building constructed according to typically urban designs and equiped with typically urban facilities tends to equalize economic and technical levels of rural and urban environments.[54] Modernization of villages is followed by transformation of life styles. Daily contacts with the city and enterprise profoundly affect lives of peasant-workers and workers who integrate with the urban population and adopt patterns of their culture.

Sulphur industry investments following cold and farreaching development programs brought about deep changes even if somehow unequally distributed. The course of these changes revealed characteristic traits, ultimately contributing to accelerated social and economic development of the areas which for long years had made no progress. An analysis of these changes together with their underlying causes gives a better insight in the very complex structures of interrelated but short lived transformations of spatial systems.

New types of social and occupational structures emerge and new types of settlements which bear evident marks of their momentary nature. They can be analyzed in different dimensions depending on the purpose and purport of study. This is particularly true of peasant-worker household and villages, differentiated according to type and size of production, organization of work, surface of arable land, social and vocational structure of population, their sex and age of distribution. But also within worker villages one can discern deep differentiation according to localization and productive profile of industrial enterprises, their technological standards, dominant occupational structure, required qualifications and education levels, available transportation services and touristic facilities.[55] All these factors cannot be accounted for in a simple classification of worker villages, of the types proposed by E. Pietraszek or R. Turski.[56]

Tarnobrzeg Industrial Center contains a great number of various intermediate forms of rural settlements. Their types differ from one region to another or from one phase of industrialization and modernization to another.[57] This fact has been corroborated by findings of sociological studies on urbanization and rural communities development. Besides, classification of Polish villages cannot coincide with classifications proposed in West European studies, particularly in the field of micro-analytic research, as a brief survey of French literature clearly indicates.[58] The general problem, to what degree parallel processes of rural transformations can be compared between countries of different social systems, is a question, which can only be solved by a detailed microanalytic dynamic research undertaken after a careful standardization of observation criteria and differentiation indices.

VII. FUNCTIONS OF INDUSTRY IN THE PROCESS OF RURAL LOCAL COMMUNITIES DISINTEGRATION

The multitude of intermediate forms assumed by villages in the course of their transformation in industrialized regions testifies to the intensity of processes of reorganization in local rural communities exposed to socialist industrialization. We have already concentrated on factors accompanying industrial investments: the leading role of social and vocational structure transformations among rural population, the various changes culminating in complete disappearance of private farms and peasant households[59] and the flight of labor force from agriculture. Each of these phenomena discussed above, together with some secondary questions like intensive growth of apartment buildings, prevalence of urban styles, reduction of land possessed by families, exodus of younger generations may serve as an index of rural local communities disintegration.[60]

Massive exodus of younger generation from villages could be observed all over Poland.[61] It was accelerated by growing demand for labor force in industry, and indirectly, by growing demand for labor force in other branches of economy: construction, transportation, services, etc. It was also facilitated by new possibilities of acquiring better vocational qualifications in specialistic schools affiliated with industrial, construction or mining enterprises. It was further encouraged by mass media, newspapers, and especially radio and television, which strongly contributed to the disintegration of local rural communities.

Desires and life goals of Tarnobrzeg village inhabitants, and particularly the life goals of peasant youth were mainly directed toward better education, and better occupational positions in industrial enterprises.[62] In Tarnobrzeg villages covered by the survey and in the neighboring areas surrounding several urban and industrial centers in Southern Poland it was almost unanimously repeated by all interviewed respondents that getting appropriate vocational qualifications was by far the highest value for them.[63]

Social prestige of different occupations was also placed very high in their system of values. Consequently, social appreciation of vocational employment beyond agriculture was an important factor motivating peasants to find new employment. The results of the survey conducted in the Tarnobrzeg region covering interviews in rural households and in industrial enterprises unequivocally verified these earlier observations. The willingness to improve qualifications permanently was found to be overwhelming in the workers' class and very strong among population relying on two vocations. Those needs can be satisfied by rapidly developing vocational schools in that region.[64] A great percentage of workers espoused very high vocational aspirations and felt that they were very personally involved in the work they performed. With utmost eagerness they undertook efforts to improve its technological standard whenever it was needed. To find an employment worthy of their ambitions young workers seek jobs in modern industrial enterprises, like the Katowice Foundry, for example, which assure them high prestige and good social standing.

Land has long ceased to be the main end in man's life and subject of his strongest desire. This is not to say that it has lost its value altogether. Land is now appreciated as a secondary source of income for peasant worker families. Deeply differentiated systems of employment and qualification structures of private farms of different sizes and productive efficiency contributed in various degrees to the dissolution of family ties in households located in the neighborhood of urban agglomerations. The principal reasons of the family life decline was the incongruous plurality of interests, outlooks and life-goals which severed intimate relationships and brought local rural community to decline.

Actual situations were quite different in different houses. They depended on particular choices of occupation or employment, on decisions concerning the future of the family land, etc. They may have been affected by choices between looking for a job at the local labor market and seeking employment outside agriculture; they may finally have been determined by a decision to move out of the village for good. Radically different attitudes, vocational capabilities and levels of education could be found within the same family. Father could be a farmer or a farm worker of low qualifications, son a technical specialist or a clerk, daughter might be employed in an outpatient clinic or a shop, mother might specialize in raising chicken, for example.[65] Obviously, the scope of interests, needs and values were for each person completely different. Lately a new pattern has emerged of a somehow similar life style among most males employed outside agriculture and among women left behind to cultivate the land. But the degree of peasant-worker engagement with field work on his family land is certainly very different, just as different is the degree of involvement in the social works among village inhabitants and a crew of an industrial enterprise.[66] Concomitance of uncontrolled and planned factors connected with the fast rate of socialist industrialization makes all efforts to present these differentiations in terms of simple statistical categories quite meaningless. Relations between fluctuating properties of different structures and their underlying conditions call for cross sectional descriptive analysis of individual households and villages.

VIII. EMERGENCE OF NEW SYSTEMS OF SETTLEMENTS STRUCTURES AS A HIGHER ORDER INTEGRATING FACTOR

Alongside the decline of local rural communities and strengthening association of villages with enterprises and industrial and urban agglomerations a new system of socialist institutions, administrative, economic and service agencies comes into being, and by virtue of specific relationships through work embraces several private rural households and elevates them to the role of elements of a higher order social and economic systems.[67] New socialist forms of vocational activity appear in different parts of Poland with unequal intensity. Creation of such institutions as rural shops, farming cooperatives, etc., makes way for organization of more concrete agencies: productive works, transportation and commercial agencies, cultural, educational or health establishments, etc., which transform villages by implementing new communal functions organized according to the planned designs of spatial, administrative or urbanistic development. New contacts are made on organizational and administrative levels between villages or individual households and higher order centers. The role of institutions and organizations is not quite the same in different communities. But the number and density of new agencies usually conforms to the needs of the region, additionally contributing, to reinforcement of potential differences between different areas. Their role of a cohesive factor is consequently differentiated.[68] T. Jarowiecka pointed out that several villages have been simultaneously embraced by influence zones of different centers. Our survey showed that urbanized villages of industrial type avail themselves of a wider array of institutions and agencies whose basic functions are more specialized. Most undifferentiated and widespread agencies are restaurants, transportation facilities, shops, health-service and cultural agencies. They are often accompanied by highly specialized commercial agencies of different description. In the Tarnobrzeg region the number of shops grew four times faster than the index of population increase, but in spite of that, availability of commercial services was rather inferior to that of the Lubin or Konin regions.[69]

Socialist forms of production and provision of services are increasingly prevalent in villages, helping to integrate private farms in the system of socialist production, exchange and social organization.[70] It is very significant because institutionalized changes and progressive social, economic and cultural development of villages reinforced by scientific and technical revolution is by no means diverted toward industrial society[71] nor to organizational society, recently extolled by the American scientists.[72] Consequently, all comparisons (not too infrequent in sociology) of processes observed in Poland and in the United States or West Europe are thoroughly futile. They neglect the deep differences resulting from differences between social systems, founding principles and the totality of social and economic conditions.

We are living in the times of revolutionary processes that are free to evolve faster than any scientific studies might require to record them. Social and geographical research is nevertheless perfectly able to point out that complex stages of transformations underlie all obvious changes in rural local communities. These transformations result in an extensive and rapidly proceeding process of village disintegration which is the inevitable effect of irregular influence of different underlying factors and conditions. These factors are also manifest in the intensive industrialization and urbanization of villages, and again particular course of these processes depends on the social and economic infrastructure of a given region. Finally, high horizontal and vertical mobility of rural population profoundly affects family ties and communal cohesion in villages.

Important changes were recently instituted in the system of social, vocational and settlement structures by a reform of administrative division of Poland, creating more voivodeships and rural agglomerations. Spatial structure of labor markets is bound to be different, and new institutions will contribute to further vocational activization of peasants. Basic systems of the hierarchical settlement networks and the range and scope of institutions and service agencies are apt to be different.[73] Long-term effects of consolidation of higher order social ties due to creation of village agglomerations and communal institutions and agencies responsible for organization of the social, economic and cultural life may already be tentatively visualized from newspaper interviews and articles and from scientific papers.[74] The decisions concerning new administrative division of Poland have been motivated by a desire to minimize regional disproportions. They will provide an expedient instrument for more effective handling of the uncontrolled processes which could be seen at work in the initial phase of planned socialist economy.[75]

REFERENCES NOTES

1. The starting point of these reflexions stemms from my *Dynamika krajobrazu kulturalnego*, 1948 (*Dynamics of Cultural Panorama*) and *Czynniki kształtowania się, przeobrażania i rozpadu społeczno-ekonomicznych struktur regionalnych*, 1962 (*Factors Which Create, Transform and Lead Socio-economic Regional Structures to Decline*). Compare also M. Dobrowolska, J. Rajman: *Współzależność procesów industrializacji i urbanizacji w kształtowaniu regionu*

historycznego w czasach nowożytnych i współczesnych (*Interdependence of Industrialization and Urbanization Processes Influencing Historical Regions in Contemporary and Modern Times*). „Problemy nauk pomocniczych historii", No. 3, Uniwersytet Śląski, 96, Katowice 1974.

2. Compare collective endeavors of the Committee on Industrialized Regions of the Polish Academy of Sciences.
3. See supra note 1.
4. M. Dobrowolska: *Przemiany struktury społeczno-gospodarczej wsi małopolskiej* (Transformations *of Social and Economic Structure of Małopolska Villages*), „Przegląd Geograficzny", 31 (1959), No. 1, and M. Dobrowolska: *The Influence of Industrialization on the Formation of Regions* in: *Problems of Economic Regions*, The Polish Academy of Sciences, Institute of Geography, "Geographical Studies", No. 27, Warsaw 1961.
5. M. Dobrowolska: *Struktura regionu i powiązań regionalnych* (*The Structure of a Region and Regional Relationships*), in: *Wybrane zagadnienia z metodyki ćwiczeń terenowych z geografii ekonomicznej*, „Prace z Dydaktyki Szkoły Wyższej", No. 4, Cracow 1967.
6. M. Dobrowolska: *Funkcje przemysłu w przemianach wiejskich struktur ludnościowych i osadniczych* (*Functions of Industry in Transformation of Rural, Demographic and Settlement Structures*), WSP, Cracow 1974. The publication contains an ample bibliography.
7. J. Rajman: *Uprzemysłowienie a przemiany ludnościowo-osadnicze województwa opolskiego* (*Industrialization and Demographic and Settlement Transformations in Opole Voivodeship*), Katowice 1965, the publication contains maps showing different types of social structures in villages from 1819 to 1861. See also: T. Ładogórski: *Ludność Śląska i jej struktura społeczna w drugiej połowie XVIII w.* (*Population of Silesia and its Social Structure in the second half of the 18th century*), „Przegląd Zachodni", No. 3, Poznań 1950.
8. The fall of patriarchal peasantry and emergence of new characters among rural population, belonging on the one hand to the rural bourgeoisie, and on the other, to the class of farm workers, brings about complete decline of peasantry in course of a complex and irregular process. (W. Lenin: *Collected Works*, vol. 3, p. 171–172, Warsaw 1954). Initial forms of the process were apparently already under way, in the growing levels of wealth and popularization of the institution of hiring labor in the 17th century. These trends appeared in Małopolska in late 19th century or even at the turn of the 20th century.
9. S. Szczepanowski: *Nędza Galicji w cyfrach i faktach* (*Facts and Numbers Concerning Poverty of Galicia*), Lwów 1884.
10. S. Ignar: *Badania naukowe procesów industrializacji w Polsce Ludowej* (*Scientific Research of Industrialization in People's Poland*), „Zeszyty Badań Rejonów Uprzemysławianych", PAN, No. 59, Warsaw 1974.
11. S. Leszczycki, T. Eberhardt, S. Herman: *Aglomeracje miejsko-przemysłowe w Polsce 1966–2000* (*Urban and Industrial Agglomerations in Poland from 1966 to 2000*), „Biuletyn KPZK PAN", No. 67, Warsaw 1971.
12. S. Ignar, *op. cit.*
13. See note 15.
14. We have differentiated between several types of functionally and socially characterized villages and identified different stages in their development. We singled out i.a. villages surrounding local industrial enterprises in the vicinity of Katowice and Silesia agglomerations, mobile settlements, permanent settlements with mixed population: clerks, workers, peasant-workers, etc. Compare: M. Dobrowolska: *Przeobrażenie osadnictwa wiejskiego w województwie katowickim. Studia nad ekonomią regionu* (*Transformations of Rural Settlements in Katowice Voivodeship. Studies of Regional Economy*), Śląski Instytut Naukowy, Katowice 1972.
15. L. Pakuła: *Kształtowanie się i struktura zachodnio-krakowskiego kompleksu przemysłowego* (*Emergence and Structure of the West Cracow Industrial Center*), „Biuletyn KPZK PAN", No 2, Warsaw 1965; J. Rajman: *Procesy urbanizacyjne w obrzeżu Górnośląskiego Okręgu Przemy-*

słowego po II Wojnie Światowej (*Urbanization Processes on the Fringes of the Upper Silesian Industrial Center after Second World War*), „Prace Monograficzne WSP w Krakowie", Vol. 7, Cracow 1969. The publication contains 13 maps showing zones of dense population employed outside agriculture and indices of industrial zones urbanization).

16. An example to this effect can be found in transformations of villages into workers' settlements with characteristic rush of young people to vocational technical schools.
17. Compare: J. Rejman, *op. cit.*
18. J. Herma: *Dojazdy do pracy w Polsce południowej: Woj. katowickie, kieleckie, krakowskie, opolskie, rzeszowskie* (*Commutation to Work in Southern Poland*), „Prace Monograficzne WSP w Krakowie", Vol. V, Cracow 1956.
19. T. Jarowiecka: *Z badań nad zróżnicowaniem struktur wiejskich woj. krakowskiego* (*An Analysis of Rural Structures Differentiation in Cracow Voivodeship*), „Roczniki Naukowo-Dydaktyczne WSP", Cracow 1968.
20. M. Dobrowolska, W. Czarkowska: *Węzłowe problemy demograficzne regionu* (*Key Problems of Regional Demography*), in: *Rozwój ekonomiczny regionu krakowskiego w 20-leciu Polski Ludowej*, „Prace Komisji Nauk Ekonomicznych", Oddział PAN w Krakowie, No. 7, Cracow 1965.
21. Findings of that survey have been published in „Zeszyty Badania Rejonów Uprzemysławianych", No. 29, Warsaw 1968. The issue has subtitle *Demograficzno-osadnicze problemy w Tarnobrzeskim Rejonie Uprzemysławianym* (*Demographic and Settlement Problems of the Industrialized Region of Tarnobrzeg*). Later stages of development in years 1965 – 1970 are to be presented in the next issue of the same series, bearing title: „Problemy Rejonów Uprzemysławianych" ("Problems of Industrialized Regions").
22. M. Dobrowolska: *Osadnictwo w Puszczy Sandomierskiej między Wisłą i Sanem* (*Settlements in Sandomierz Forests between the Vistula and San Rivers*), „Krakowskie Odczyty Geograficzne", No. 14, Cracow, 1931.
23. In the villages where inquiries have been made, the village Stale, Sokolniki, Kłyżów, etc., the dread of poverty is still felt from the times when young people emigrated in groups to Prussia or to Warsaw or Grudziądz seeking employment. Compare: J. Nalborczyk: *Stalowa Wola i jej wpływ na przemiany rolniczego zaplecza* (*The Town of Stalowa Wola and its Influence on Transformations of the Surrounding Countryside*), WSP, Cracow 1963, M. A. degree paper.
24. J. Tepicht: *Przemiany wsi rzeszowskiej na tle socjalistycznej industrializacji* (*Transformations of Villages in Rzeszów Voivodeship under the Impact of Socialist Industrialization*), „Zagadnienia Ekonomiki Rolnej", IER, No. 1, Warsaw 1952.
25. Typical traces of socialist industrialization are enumerated by J. Szczepański: *Społeczne aspekty industrializacji w Polsce Ludowej* (*Social Aspects of Industrialization in People's Poland*), in: *Socjologiczne problemy industrializacji w Polsce Ludowej* (*Sociological Problems of Industrialization* in the *People's Poland*), Warsaw 1967, p. 5 – 32. Compare also: J. Szczepański: *Zmiany społeczeństwa polskiego w procesie indriustrializacji* (*Transformation of the Polish Society due to the Process of Indrustrialization*), Warsaw 1973.
26. K. Secomski: *Analiza procesu uprzemysłowienia i struktury przestrzennej przemysłów PRL* (*An analysis of Industrialization Processes and Spatial Structure of Industry in People's Poland*), „Biuletyn KPZK PAN", No. 6/8, Warsaw 1961.
27. Most of these processes ended with the first stage of sulphur processing investments in Machów and in the first sulphur excavating works in Piaseczno. Compare: „Zeszyty Badań Rejonów Uprzemysławianych", No. 29, Warsaw 1968.
28. The grounds that will be directly affected in the future by sulphur industry extend roughly over one thousand ha of arable land. The greater part of this surface is covered with sand which before the Second World War was turned into a prairie in result of water draining and descending level of underground water. But within the industrialized region there are also fertile lands of villages Miechocina Chmielowa, Dąbrowica.

29. J. Herma: *Funkcje migracji w procesach urbanizacji obszarów przemysłowych* (*Functions of Migration in the Processes of Urbanization in Industrial Regions*), "Folia Geographica, Series Geographica Oeconomica", No. 3, 1970. The same issue contains a detailed analysis of local labor markets determining migration of labor force in sulphur processing centers, the Ancient Polish Center and the Carpathian Oil Basin
30. This increase is still lower than the increase in Lubin region, but exceeds the magnitudes noted in Puławy and Konin. Inflow of population and demographic increase are incomparably higher in the Silesian Basin (for example in Rybnik region).
31. Compare similar studies of immigration to the towns of Oświęcim, Kędzierzyn and other centers of the Carpathian Oil Basin. Pertinent bibliography can be found in M. Dobrowolska, W. Czarkówska: *Węzłowe problemy...*
32. Findings obtained from local Registrar's Books and questionnaires.
33. An analysis of Registrar Books and a survey conducted in collaboration with the Economic Planning Committee on the local level in two different periods of time (1964 and 1972) showed that the processes of new urban structures formation incited by changes introduced by socialist industrialization are very complex. Particular functions of different cities constitute very important causal elements, and so do the highly differentiated relationships on labor markets in particular centers. Compare: J. Malanowski: *Stosunki klasowe i różnice społeczne w mieście* (*Class Relationships and Social Stratification in the City*), Warsaw 1967, and J. Turowski, B. Kryczka: *Profile społeczne starego i nowego miasta przemysłowego* (*Social Profiles of an Old and a New Industrial City*), in: *Studia socjologiczne i urbanistyczne miast Lubelszczyzny* (*Social and Urbanistie Studies of Lublin Province Cities*), Lublin 1970. Invaluable concepts concerning formation of a socialist society were contributed by J. Szczepański in: *Odmiany czasu teraźniejszego*, (*Changing Aspects of the Present Time*), Warsaw 1971.
34. Findings of the survey mentioned in note 33.
35. Our analyses have proved that the fate of the Polish society was highly differentiated in consequence of the Second World War and in result of the changes that were introduced in Poland immediately after the war. Compare: an M. A. degree paper, J. Bodnar: *Rola napływu ludności w procesach urbanizacji Sandomierza* (*The Effect of Population Inflow on the Processes of Urbanization in Sandomierz*), WSP, Cracow 1965, and J. Nalborczyk: *Stalowa Wola...*
36. Negative effects of sulphur industry strongly affected in 1960–1970 the growth of Tarnobrzeg and its demographic development.
37. Compare: A. Krakowska: *Rola tarnobrzeskiego kombinatu siarkowego w zmianach struktury kształcenia i zatrudnienia młodzieży* (*The Role of the Sulphur Processing Works in Tarnobrzeg in the Formation of Structure of Education and Employment among Young Population*), WSP, Cracow 1975.
38. Complex employment structures of urban and industrial centers, which are at the same time centers of administrative and legal activity (as voivodeship capitals for example), transportation nexuses, endogenic and exogenic service centers may serve to a certain degree as an index of their functional role. The number of institutions and their functioning, particulary their organizational and legal activities together with the scope of their functional competence in the structure of power, are in themselves important indeces.
39. This opinion has been supported by our findings in numerous industrialized regions. Compare: M. Dobrowolska: *Przemiany wsi...*, and M. Olędzki: *Dojazdy do pracy* (*Commutation to Work*), Warszawa 1967.
40. In spite of considerable emigration of rural population to industrialized centers, the countryside still contains some surplus of labor force particularly in the regions of Staszów and Kolbuszowa.
41. Persons with higher education (and occasionally specialists with secondary education) are an exception although a fairly common one in the group of commuters to small urban and industrial centers. Presently this phenomenon is more widespread in village agglomerations which rely very strongly on commuters.

42. I. Turczyn: *Załoga tarnobrzeskiego kombinatu siarkowego w latach 1962–1965* (The Working Force of the Sulphur Processing Works in Tarnobrzeg from 1962 to 1965). „Zeszyty Badań Rejonów Uprzemysławianych", N. 29, Warsaw 1968, p. 119–136.
43. A number of concepts and indices and several demarcation criteria connected with this subject are rather fallacious e.g. concepts of village urbanization and modernization. Compare: J. Turowski, A. Bornus: *Drogi modernizacji wsi* (*Ways of Rural Modernization*), Warsaw 1970, and M. Dobrowolska, B. Górz: *Differentiation regional du niveau de modernisation de la campagne dans le secteur de l'économie paysanne individuelle*. "Geographia Polonica", No. 29, 1974.
44. See surveys by: E. Juillard, O. Tulipp, R. Duocastelli, H. Bobek, H. Linde, K. Brüning, H. Lehmann, C. Kostica.
45. Pertinent map was prepared by a team of collaborators and published in: *Demograficzno-osadnicze...*
46. A. Bobek: *Dojazdy do pracy w tarnobrzeskim okręgu przemysłowym* (*Commutation to Work in Tarnobrzeg Industrial Region*) „Zeszyty Badań Rejonów Uprzemysławianych", No. 29, Warsaw 1968.
47. T. Jarowiecka: *Struktura społeczno-zawodowa ludności wiejskiej w zespołach osadniczych tarnobrzeskiego okręgu przemysłowego* (*Social and Vocational Structure of Rural Population in Settlement Agglomerations of Tarnobrzeg Industrial Region*). „Zeszyty Badań Rej. Uprzem. PAN", No. 29, Warsaw 1968.
48. M. Dobrowolska, J. Rejman: *Socio-economic Structure and Dynamics of the Suburbian Zone*. "Geographia Polonica", No. 7, Warsaw 1965.
49. M. Dobrowolska: *Osadnictwo w puszczy...*
50. R. Turski: *Przemiany struktury społecznej wsi* (*Transformations of the Social Structure of Countryside*), in: *Struktura i dynamika społeczeństwa polskiego* (*The Structure and Dynamics of Polish Society*), by W. Wesołowski (ed.), Warsaw 1970.
51. B. Górz: *Elektryfikacja wsi w tarnobrzeskim okręgu przemysłowym* (*Electrification of Villages in Tarnobrzeg Industrial Center*). "Folia Geographica. Series Geographia Oeconomica", No. 3, Cracow 1970.
52. J. Herma: *Młodzież wiejska tarnobrzeskiego regionu siarkowego na lokalnych rynkach pracy* (*Rural Youth of Tarnobrzeg Sulphur Processing Region on the Local Labor Markets*), „Rocznik Naukowo-Dydaktyczny WSP, Prace Geograficzne", No. 5, Cracow 1971.
53. For example, tractors are equipped with new parts required for coupling agricultural machinery, or new household appliances are made by adopting technical ideas suggested at work. Traditional village ceased to exist according to the authors of diaries submitted to "Zorza Magazine" when the wall separating village from city, and peasants from new professions, wider society and culture had been abolished. The position of the village and peasants who could not find employment, access to books, newspapers and schools for their children was also a result of that separation. A great number of authors believed that the proper measure of the countryside development and of its leap forward is found in the degree of accessibility to culture and possibilities of having cultural needs satisfied. See: J. Turowski: *Problemy i przemiany wsi w świetle pamiętników* (*Problems of Transformations of Villages in the Light of Diaries*), „Życie i Myśl", No. 5/6, Warsaw 1964, p. 116–117.
54. Fast development of modern housing in the villages of Tarnobrzeg Region was a subject of a detailed study by M. Kozela: *Charakterystyka stanu budownictwa wiejskiego w okręgu siarkowo-metalurgicznym* (*The State of Rural Housing in the Sulphur and Metal Processing Region*), "Zeszyty Badań Rejonów Uprzemysławianych", No. 29, Warsaw 1968. See also: M. Dobrowolska: *Przeobrażenia osadnictwa wiejskiego w woj. katowickim* (*Transformations of Rural Settlements in Katowice Voivodship*), „Studia nad Ekonomiką Regionu", No. 3, Katowice 1972.
55. *Ibidem.*
56. E. Pietraszek: *Wieś robotnicza* (*Workers' Village*), Wrocław 1969; R. Turski: *Przemiany struktury* ...; B. Gałęski (ed.), *Zmiany społeczne i postęp techniczny* (*Social Changes and*

Technical Development), Wrocław 1971; and B. Gałęski: *Społeczno-ekonomiczna struktura wsi w Polsce Ludowej* (*Social and Economic Structure of the Village in People's Poland*), IER, Warsaw 1961.

57. M. Dobrowolska, A. Prochnikowa: *Urbanizacja wsi a przemiany układów osadniczych* (*Urbanization of Villages and Transformation of Settlements Systems*), "Folia Geographica", No. 4, 1971.

58. Profound differentiation of the French village has been shown in microanalytical studies by R. Bages: *Etudes sur le niveau de vie paysans dans le Sud-ouest*, "Etudes rurales", No. 20, janvier – mars, Paris 1966; and J. Gutwirth, N. Echard, J. C. Muller: *Haleine. Trois aspect d'une commune de l'Orne*, ibid., No. 11, octobre – décembre, 1963; particularly a survey of papers by E. Juillard: *Géographie rurale française (1957 – 1963)*, ibid., No. 13/14, avril – septembre 1974.

59. M. Dobrowolska, *Przemiany*...

60. These factors have been scrutinized by several profound studies; compare: *Bibliografia prac z zakresu uprzemysławiania* (*Bibligraphy of Publications on Industrialization*), „Zeszyty Badania Rejonów Uprzemysławianych", No. 60, 1975.

61. Compare: Studies by M. Pohoski and S. Sokołowski on factors determining outflow and selection processes. Additional data on the situation in Silesian and Cracow regions can be found in M. Dobrowolska, W. Czarkowska: *Węzłowe problemy*...

62. Changing ideological evaluations of different vocations by rural population in Małopolska are surveyed by K. Dobrowolski: *Studia nad życiem społecznym i kulturą* (*Studies on Social Life and Culture*), Prace Komisji Socjologicznej PAN, Cracow 1966.

63. On disintegration of families and decline of traditional rural culture see: K. Dobrowolski: *op. cit.*

64. A. Krakowska: op. cit., WSP, Cracow 1975. Only in Stalowa Wola-Niska there were 15 high schools and vocational schools in 1967, to say nothing of evening schools for workers.

65. We came across similar cases in field studies conducted in Tarnobrzeg Region, Carpathian Basin, Silesia and urbanization belts of the suburbian zones of Cracow. It should be stressed, nevertheless, that the clear picture of the situation is somewhat blurred by economic community of sons and daughters living in towns who come to the village in Summer and help with the hectic work on the farm. Problems of this kind were tackled by J. Turowski: *Problemy struktury społecznej regionu rolniczo-przemysłowego* (*Problems of Social Structure in an Agricultural and Industrial Region*), „Przegląd Socjologiczny", No. 17/1, 1963, and by the same author: *Przemiany wsi pod wpływem zakładu przemysłowego. Studium rejonu Milejów* (*Transformation of the Village under the Influence of an Industrial Enterprise*), Wrocław 1974.

66. M. Dobrowolska: *Czynniki integracji*...

67. D. Markowska: *Rodzina w środowisku wiejskim* (*Family in a Rural Milieu*), Warsaw 1964.

68. T. Jarowiecka, B. Górz: *Rola instytucji i organizacji w kształtowaniu powiązań osadniczych* (*The Role of Institutions and Organizations in the Formation of Settlements Ties*), „Prace z Dydaktyki Szkoły Wyższej"; No. 4, Cracow 1967, and T. Jarowiecka: *Z badań nad organizacją wiejskiej sieci osadniczej* (*Investigations Concerning Organization of Rural Settlement Networks*), "Folia Geographica", No. 3, Cracow, 1970.

69. B. Górz: *Usługi rejonu uprzemysławianego* (*Services in an Industrialized Region*), "Folia Geographica", No. 7, Cracow 1974, and J. Dietl: *Handel i rynek w rejonach uprzemysławianych* (*Trade and Market in Industrialized Regions*), „Problemy Rejonów Uprzemysławianych", Warsaw 1970.

70. On agricultural cooperatives, investment credits and rural authorities see: B. Gałęski, S. Ochociński and K. Kwaśniewski: *Aktywizacja i rozwój społeczności lokalnych* (*Activization and Development of Local Communities*), Wrocław 1973.

71. W. Morawski: *Nowe społeczeństwa przemysłowe. Analiza i krytyka koncepcji* (*New Industrial Societies. An Analysis and Critique of the Concept*), Warsaw 1975.

72. N. Novikov: *Organizational Society. Social Mechanisms and Ideology*. Moscow 1972.
73. Development of institutions and service agencies is the basic factor in spatial planning based on the place in the hierarchy of the socio-economic system constitute the network of coordinated centers connected by homogeneous ties. (Compare: M. Chilczuk: *Sieć ośrodków więzi społeczno-gospodarczej wsi w Polsce* (*Rural Service Centres in Poland*). Warsaw 1963. The ranges of influence exerted by those centres determine spatial frames of cultural transformations – see: T. Jarowiecka, B. Górz: *Rola instytucji*..., and T. Jarowiecka: *Z badań*...
74. K. Rarus: *Przemiany demograficzne i społeczno-gospodarcze reńskiej wsi na tle powiatu kozielskiego w okresie PRL* (*Demographic and Socio-economic Transformations of "reńska wieś" against the Background of Koźle powiat in People's Poland*). M. A. degree paper, WSP. Cracow 1974.

75 On the function of these processes see: K. Dobrowolski: *Teoria procesów żywiołowych w zakresie* (*An Outline of the Spontaneous Processes Theory*),"Prace Komisji Socjologicznej PAN", No 29, Cracow 1973, and I. Szelenyi: *Socjologiczna problematyka badań rozwoju regionów oraz planowania regionalnego* (*Sociological Problems of the Research concerning Regional Development and Regional Planning*), in: *Aktywizacja i rozwój społeczności lokalnych* (*Activization and Development of Local Communties*), Wrocław 1973.

ZBIGNIEW T. WIERZBICKI

PHYSIOTACTIC AND ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

INTRODUCTORY NOTIONS

In Poland the science concerning the preservation of natural resources and their proper exploitation is generally called either sozology or physiotactics.[1] We regard the second term as more adequate from both the logical and semantic points of view of the problems discussed here. Mankind's influence on and transformation of nature are unavoidable (except for a small number of intentionally protected areas of primitive nature). It is therefore essential that relations between man and his natural environment be as rational as possible and that they should take the most optimal course. However, the first part of the term sozology seems to be suitable for such compound notions as sozo-ecology, sozo-ecosystem, or sozo-techniques. These terms can be of value: first, to determine ecological approaches to social research in situations where biological environment protection is considered (its basic elements, including agrocenosis, have thus far been insufficiently dealt with in ecology[2]); second, for such ecological systems where the parameters of biological environment protection are being intentionally considered; third, for such technical knowledge which seeks to put the aims and assumptions of physiotactics (natural environment protection) into practice.

The acceptance of the term "physiotactics" enables us to use still another term, "physiostrategy". This auxiliary but no doubt useful term helps in the analysis of the theory and principles of the general policy of human protection of the natural environment and in solving problems connected with putting such policies into force on a macro-scale. The main purpose of this policy is to maintain a biological-ecological equilibrium (balance) subsequently called biocenotic equilibrium or sozo-ecological equilibrium of the given ecosystem (biotype).

The maintenance of this balance should be a basic requirement of every human, economic, and social activity and thus needs to be an integral part of the planning of rural and agricultural life of the future including types of spatial building, types of building engineering, kinds of cultivation, and types of exploitation.

p. 140 blank

The notion of the accumulation threshold of toxic substances in the natural environment (soil, plant cover, water and air) is of great importance for all research focused on maintaining biocenotic equilibrium. Surpassing of the threshold causes disease and death of human,[3] animal and plant organisms. Of course the accumulation of toxic substances would lead to future reduction or even total elimination of the development of economic activities, being a kind of negative feed-back loop. This would, however, be a very imperfect solution, because it would act very slowly until a critical point was reached which, if once exceeded, would proceed with the speed of an avalanche, destroying the environment and making any human counteraction quite ineffective.

The accumulation threshold of toxic substances, or, in other words, the tolerance threshold of environmental factors against pollution, must be determined by natural scientists (chemists, hydrographs, soil scientists, geologists and physicians).

On such a framework the geographers will be able to design sozo-ecological maps.[4] With similar types of synthetic valorization of the geographic environment, we will be able to establish the basis for special planning for the urban development of regions, as well as of entire countries or continents.

The final basic notion that needs to be explained is that of development, usually used in the quantitative sense of an increase in the amount of capital and consumption goods, as well as in the number of working places, and higher living standards as measured by income indexes, etc. Yet such criteria are difficult to reconcile with the principles of today's physiotactics. Although the qualitative aspect, that is, a specific drive to perfection, is sometimes assumed to be present, it is nevertheless bound to be dominated by quantitative aspects according to the rule "the bigger the better"; development is nearly always understood and assessed in economic or material terms. Consequently the notion of development does not include, for instance, modifications occurring in attitudes and mentalities that lead to better adjustment to changing biological-ecological circumstances. Whereas the sozo-ecological approach requires the consideration of values (moral, ethnic, and medical) of social systems, as well as all changes developing in them from the perspective of the amelioration of life conditions.

Physiotactics is thus an interdisciplinary science which must be built up from the beginning by identifying and specifying its ideas and the ranges of its interrelations to other fields.

ACADEMIC QUESTION

The question arises whether the process of the deterioration of the natural environment has advanced so far as to threaten the mere existence of human civilization?

The numerous warnings of two groups can be distinguished: one is alarmist and predicts forthcoming catastrophe, the other is moderately optimistic.

The first group is represented first of all by the famous Rome Club report.[5] It operates with a model simulating the future world economy, assuming various kinds of natural resource exploitation and environmental pollution. Stress is placed on the interrelations between basic economic, technical and environmental factors such as population, food and natural resources, industrial production and environmental pollution. The model is based on the assumption that growth tendencies follow a geometrical progression. The authors further draw the conclusion that very soon the curve of human population growth will cross the curve of natural resources decrease. Thus, humanity will be confronted with the dilemma of either decreasing the amount of goods per capita or decreasing the population of certain countries (the discrepancies between population growth and natural resources depletion vary, of course, in different countries). The inclusion into the model of the third parameter, environmental pollution, would lead to the same result, the reduction of development, even if it were optimistically assumed that natural resources were not to be exhausted within a short time.[6]

Even if the most optimistic outcome is assumed, that growth-limiting factors will be eliminated, the total catastrophe which is expected before 2100 A. D., can, in the authors' opinion, not be prevented. There are at least three reasons for this unavoidable catastrophe: (1) overexhaustion of the soil with resultant decreased food production; (2) depletion of natural resources by a world population which will probably be more prosperous than it is today, but not so prosperous as population of the present-day USA; and finally (3) increased pollution of the natural environment causing a further curtailment of food production and a sudden increase in mortality. The authors views are decidedly counter to the naive faith in technology's supposed power to eliminate all obstacles to continued development.

The representatives of the moderately optimistic groups believe that despite of the unbalanced biocenotic equilibrium humanity is not in a state of direct danger, and also that science and technology can repair what has been spoilt in the past.[7]

The question is purely academic. Opinions differ only in their estimation of the degree of danger to the world. No one contests the danger itself. No sociologists, and especially no rural sociologists who are most concerned with the forecasted global deterioration, can be indifferent to these problems for at least two reasons.

First, because the environmental crisis is an indirect proof of the moral crisis that humanity is passing through. It means that mankind is unable or unwilling to create a system of values strong enough to satisfy individual and social needs and to maintain the sozo-ecological equilibrium undisturbed without excessive and brutal exploitation of nature.[8]

Second, because in all considerations of future rural life and regional development (which are so strongly connected with one another), the problem of the protection of the natural environment cannot simply be omitted, but must be basic to all projects of regional and social development.

THE SO-CALLED THEORY OF CONVERGENCY

Will the problems of the devastation of the natural environment and possible techniques of counteraction become alike in all countries? Is it possible that in spite of different social and political systems the problems will become the same on both sides of the still existing "barricade". Or, are the problems likely to differ in some vital points regardless of the degree of industrialization of various countries.

It is quite certain that the devastation of the natural environment is conditioned mainly by the level of industrialization, and that political systems are irrelevant. Identical industrial technologies cause identical changes in the biosphere. Another point not to be disregarded is that pollution and contamination which orginate in one country are carried by air and water to very distant places. For instance, DDT has been found in human and animal organisms in Greenland although it was never used there, just as waste products of North-American industry poison fish and its consumers in Japan. Of course, contamination going in the opposite direction is equally possible. The world has today become a single unit from the natural and technological point of view even if not yet in the political sense.

The second question, how to counteract the devastation of the natural environment in the two major political systems: socialism and capitalism, is more complicated.

Some leading structural-functional differences in the characteristics of these systems are shown in Table 1. There are three fundamental principles of the socialistic system which should create a better chance for an effective environmental protection policy than can be expected under circumstances based on free-market mechanisms and private ownership of the means of production. They are: (1) nationalization of natural resources and of the means of production; (2) a highly restricted amount of private ownership; (3) a centralized system of economic and spatial planning based on scientific principles. However, the theoretical potential of the socialistic system has not yet been fully realized as shown by both statistical data and by simple observation of environmental changes in socialist countries. Even taking into account the lower indexes of industrialization of socialist countries, the state of natural environment protection is no better than in western countries of the capitalist world. At least two reasons can be given for this: (1) accelerated urbanization and industrialization, and (2) certain factors found in socialist countries which act as "a kind of positive feed-back mechanism".

The result has been frequent mistakes and general negligence, especially with regard to the localization of industry, to extensive shortages of purification equipment, and to a light, careless attitude of persons in decision-making positions. The common ignorance of the importance of all problems connected with protection of the natural environment, and the lack of sufficiently strong pressure from public opinion, fail to encourage the discovery of new environment-preserving techniques, particularly if these are more difficult or inconvenient than present techniques. So far the easiest solutions are generally practiced – letting wastes settle in water overnight, allowing gases to escape into the air, or dumping litter on nationalized land. The penalties for violating environmental protection laws are much cheaper than the installment and maintenance of purification systems. Moreover, all transactions, including the payment of penalties, are performed within the same governmental section. Since the owner is not likely to punish himself the legal sanctions are fictitious, and even when fines are imposed they are often officially canceled.

The specific positive feed-back mechanism mentioned above encompasses three factors constituting the feed-back which prevent the proper functioning of the above mentioned basic socialist principles supposedly favorable to the protection of nature. The first factor is the socialization of land which was aimed at intensifying the development of industry and urbanization and providing for fast and impressive achievements. However, the socialization of land often subordinates the needs of the rural economy to those of industry (Table 1, p. 3, 6) and eliminates from the economic account the element

Some Structural-Functional Differences Between Capitalist and Socialist Systems
From the Environmental Protection Point-of-View

Capitalist System	Socialist System
Ruthless Exploitation of Nature	
1. Securing increased prosperity mainly by:	
a relatively free game of individual interests and quick profits: quality of products conditioned by market mechanisms; frequent waste on the macro-social scale (national scale).	accelerating industrialization with all managers under administrative pressure to increase production in a quantitative sense; lowering the costs of production to achieve quick profits; frequent waste on the micro-scale.
2. Private ownership of the means of production and mineral resources, consequently unrestricted disposal of goods, dominant principle profit and remuneration often achieved by low prices and mass production.	2. Common, nationalized ownership of the means of production and natural resources; consequently there is one decision – center in economic life; criteria: not only profit but also so-called social benefits, and state-political aims (e.g., industrialization and urbanization of the country). Little stimulation of individual needs.

3. Lack of integrated accounting of the losses sustained by the environment as a result of destructive industry

Location of industry depends on the possibilities of quick profit not on long term social interest, thus disregarding secondary effects in the near and distant future on the natural environment	Industry is located from the point of view of long term national and social profits although without taking into consideration secondary effects in the near and distant future on the environment and landscape; also neglect of aesthetic values of the environment since "beauty" can not be economically measured.
4. Among the social values propagated the leading ones are: competition, ideals of steadily rising standards of living, autonomy of the individual; the main motive of economic activity is profit; there are some psychological pressures to increase productivity.	4. Among the social values propagated preference is given to values linked with the state's aims: industrialization of the country, elimination of competition, and limitation of individual consumption; the theoretical collective national purpose is served by a proper system of salaries, and various forms of psychological pressures including authoritative recommendations (transmitted by means of the media).
5. Philosophy of individual access to goods (limited only by individual financial abilities): "needs" are developed beyond reason, illusion that progress can be achieved without costs.	5. Philosophy of collective access to goods (increasing standards of living) more through society-wide investments and facilities than through individual income; simultaneously, however, a tendency to take illegal advantage of publicly owned goods; in consequence the necessity of burdensome state control; illusion that progress can be achieved without costs.
6. Relative balance of structures and social forces among different economic sectors (rural, industrial, trades, professions) which allows mutual control.	6. Exploitation of land- and forest areas is subordinated to the interests of industry which consequently disturbs the balance of social powers, and which is strengthened by state intervention; lack of a balancing mechanism.
7. Lack of a general preventive plan of action; frequent creation of conditions that are bound to be followed by consequences unfavorable to the natural environment; difficulties in passing bills regulating environmental protection; a somewhat effective system of penalties against polluters of the environment strengthened by existing social structural divisions.	7. Up to now there is a lack of central planning for protection of nature which often creates situations which are inevitably followed by steps unfavourable to the natural environment; comparatively easy bill-passage procedure but environmental regulations are often of a postulative character.
8. Greater respect for green areas as a result of better balance among structures and social forces.	8. Little respect towards existing green areas as a result of increasing urbanization and disturbed balance among social structures (many new green areas are designed but usually they are poorly looked after).

of land prices which is very important in regional planning. "This does not create favorable conditions for the proper management of land, a resource of a very great value since government prices are so low that they can be totally disregarded in all calculations".[9] Apart from the humanistic aspect this will certainly often lead to irrational exploitation of land and to merely illusory regional development.

A second factor which is typical of this system is the way in which decisions are made. The technocrats and economic planners, having the full support of local authorities, make arbitrary decisions about the development of industry and its location. It is obvious that the first kind of decision is within their authority but the second kind is often done without consulting geographers or natural scientists, the people concerned with protection of the natural environment. The latter can then only protest and appeal to public opinion which is, however, difficult because the mass media are at the disposal of local authorities.

The third factor of this feed-back mechanism positive in this system is the high degree of consolidation of the technocratic-economic, strongly bureaucratic, structures. Besides their manifest functions they serve the individual and group interests of people who are in top positions within these structures (the so-called latent functions) the most often at the expense of the natural environment.

Such modes of activity and decision-making are also becoming general in other structures, and are particularly widespread where income is dependent on the intensity of the exploitation of nature (for instance among town planners and architects or organizers of tourism). The ruthless approach to nature of the people representing, above all, technocratic structures diminishes the vital chances of other citizens and justifies calling the former "the barbarians of the 20-th century". However, from the structural-functional point of view they are only a product of some specific disfunctions of the socialistic system.

Thus, despite the fact that Poland is known for its ancient as well as modern laws protecting nature, there are many present-day cases of law breaking and law evasion. This has gone so far that occasionally some of the regulations protecting National Parks have come under attack. Some attempts have been made to take the National Parks from the control of natural scientists and humanistic organizations and to make them subject to unlimited exploitation.

FROM THE SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Our situation seems to be quite clear. On the one hand, we can observe a radical change in man's attitude to the natural environment, and his vague apprehension of approaching catastrophe; on the other hand there is a lack of complete understanding of the consequences that the deterioration of the natural environment can bring. Also, people still do not realize that the "affluent society" is gone forever (in those parts of the world where it ever existed) and that it has become only a myth as a goal for other countries. Where goods are still plentiful, this is achieved at the expense of nature and of poorer countries. The necessity to modify life styles and value systems is slowly becoming realized.

At the same time, however, the general conception of environmental protection and directives for undertaking prophylactic measures are lacking. In addition, there are no experts capable of judging the suitability (or destructiveness) of particular policies of natural environment management. Thus no one is able to predict a damage the rural-forest environment may suffer as a result of industrial influence. Present research methods and scientific equipment are still far from satisfactory. At the same time most countries have neither sozo-ecological maps nor maps of geographical-biological values, nor have they a proper balance of land transfer nor many other vital factors essential for exhaustive analyses.

If physiotactics is, by definition, knowledge about the optimal transformation of the natural environment, mostly a rural-forest one, and if thus far there has been a positive correlation between economic growth and ecological deterioration of the environment (which forms the crucial threat to mankind), we must establish for all natural-geographical regions the threshold of tolerance of the natural environment against ecological transformations. But the general directive is, above all, to avoid disturbing the biocenotic equilibrium in any part of the biosphere (water, air, soil, flora) in a given region. Equilibrium is then that arrangement of interactions between man and nature that will be able to maintain a natural-biological balance which will prevent further pollution of the environment in order, first, not to impair human health or threaten human life and second, not distort the development of culture.[10]

The sozo-ecological equilibrium should be measured by complex indicators applicable to each biological and economic-industrial region. These indicators would be the result of a comparison of many factors which can be divided into two blocks. First block, demographic forecasts and trends of material and psychological needs (possibly divided into basic and secondary needs) of sub-groups within the population, and the aspirations and plans of local and central authorities for economic development. Second block, the water balance of particular regions and its acceptable threshold of pollution, the balance of soil and land (with regard to the degree of deterioration allowed under given conditions), the degres of air pollution permitted and expected, the degree of exhaustion of mineral resources, the resistance of local biotypes to human penetration, the existing microclimate and expected changes in it, the existing transportation system and its requirements, and so on, also putting into the account a certain margin of error because of our imperfect knowledge.

Both blocks will also be moulded by specific regional conditions, such as technological changes in a agriculture and in rural building, local topography, degree of urbanization, deforestation, chemical saturation of the soil, mechanization of agriculture, etc.

Hence the use of general (complex) ecological indicators assumes the regionalization of the country according to natural and geographic criteria. However, establishment of regional (partial) indicators will prove to be difficult as it is not always possible to determine the exact state of danger or to measure the values of certain components of the biosphere. It is definitely easier to establish the quality of the atmosphere than, for example, that of the plant cover, just as it is easier to measure the intensity of noise than the degree of soil deterioration.

The creation of complex sozo-ecological indicators for particular regions is, in a way, a type of biological accounting corresponding to accounting in the economic field. In fact, biological accounting should be treated as a preliminary stage of economic accounting, e.i. the natural environment parameters established in biological accounting (regional and general) must be included in economic accounting. We will then be able to estimate the real profits of any industrial or building development, because the accounting will include the losses caused by the elimination of land from non-industrial exploitation (including agricultural and recreational uses, or aesthetic and historical values). The costs involved in future rehabilitation of the region must also be included. Regional development is often illusory if planning does not take the parameters of environmental protection into account.[11]

This kind of economic accounting is not yet widely used even in centrally planned regional development projects in spite of the fact that a Polish law (January 31, 1961) on the subject of spatial planning includes among its aims "the protection of the country's natural values and resources". However, in practice, this aim has been achieved only in the exclusion of noxious industries from recreational and tourist areas, and even this limited goal has not always been reached. Even if principles of environmental protection are considered in directives for planned development, it is only in exceptional cases and in a fragmentary way.[12] However, the partial realization of environmental protection is usually inefficient and sometimes as Solow says: "piecemeal remedies for environmental pollution, by direct prohibition and by setting specific standards for emission, may be [...] even harmful. Piecemeal regulation may simply transfer pollution from one medium to another".[13]

Instead of the existing situation we should have an economic accounting that includes the above-mentioned biological parameters, although this is not the only solution. In environmental policy the main role should be played by the so-called negative feed-back loops (micro- and macrosystem types). They have been in operating though often imperfectly; in addition, they were efficient only over long periods of time.

Unreasonable human interference with nature in order to obtain faster and bigger benefits disturbs first of all natural negative feed-back mechanisms. Physiotactics tries to restore these mechanisms; for instance, by introducing, in addition to biological methods regarded as very promising for the future, some "social" methods which could play a vital role in conflict situations. A typical example is society's expectation that a single agricultural and forest region fulfill conflicting functions: supplying the population with food, fuel, and building materials, while, at the same time, serving as a recreational and tourist area (the last, in the case of motor tourism presents a serious problem of environmental disequilibrium). However, on the basis of expert opinion, one can reduce mass vehicle traffic by restricting tourist investments such as cable railways, large hotels (in place of shelters), highways, and so on, which act as pumps drawing people into areas of delicate natural beauty (e.g. the Tatra mountains). Under such circumstances, discussion about protection of the natural environment or educational action, or attempts to increase the level of tourist awareness are ineffective. Hence some negative feed-back loops are a necessity; however, this kind of feed-back mechanism can only be the result of research and well understood sozo-ecological decisions.

However, we can use other "feed-back" mechanisms, for example these of a psychological or intellectual nature, restricting people's desires and regulating their behavior vis-a-vis nature. Developing appropriate inhibitions and reflections, according to the directives of physiotactics, should be the object of sozo-psychology and sozo-pedagogy. Obviously, a system of fines for polluting the biosphere can also be considered to be a specific feed-back mechanism. However, fines have only limited significance because they are "ultimum refugium", and in addition they have little efficiency in some macro-systems. In any case, the main point is that the environment be protected, not that people pay fines.

Within physiotactics three basic interactional trends which are of value for sociologists can be recognized, albeit their importance is not equal. The first one, sozo-technics, is controlled by technicians and the role of sociologist is limited to the diffusion of sozo-technical innovations, and to research analyzing technical and economical structures and mechanisms of social power. The attitudes of these men of technology toward nature must of course be taken into consideration.

The second trend is the legislative part of physiotactics. Areas of interest to sociologists are the degree of common knowledge about environmental protection laws, the functioning of existing value systems, and the propagation of additional values concerning environmental protection. Problems of particular importance are the degree of effectiveness of protection laws and socio-techniques for strengthening them.[14]

The third trend is of the greatest interest for sociology. It consists of all the social movements concerned with protecting the natural environment which, despite some varying characteristics, share similar ideology regarding nature. The manifest function of these movements is the initiation of all sorts of activities connected with protection of the natural environment.

Of even greater significance, however, is the latent function of these movements which is self-improvement in the area of developing a rational attitude to nature. This function implies two consequences of great importance for social planning. First, a more universal system of values entailing a more equal distribution of material goods among all people regardless of race, nationality, religion, or sex, as well as among all countries and regions irrespective of their historical past and geographical situation or their level of development; second, the necessity to take into consideration principles of biological accounting in planning economic development independent of national boundaries or socio-political systems. This applies particularly to rural regions and all types of rural settlements.

Broad new vistas for interdisciplinary social and natural science research are opening.

REFERENCE NOTES

1. From the Greek word "sozo" – to protect, to maintain in the original state or to save, or keep alive. The term was coined by Prof. G. W. Goetel of Cracow. From the Greek word "physis" – nature. See A. Wodziczko: *Co to jest fizjotaktyka?* (*What is Physiotactics?*), "Przyroda Polski Zachodniej", 1958, No. 2, p. 113 – 114.
2. Agrocenosis biocenosis of agricultural areas. Biocenosis is then an accumulation or complex consisting of animals and plants living in more or less homogenous conditions (climate, soil, vertical configurations, etc.) Biocenosis might also be called habitat or biotype (biocenosis is for instance a group of plants and animals populating a specific lake).
3. There are thresholds (called public health norms) of physiological tolerance of human organisms which are being affected by the environment.
4. Maps of the human environment which has been permanently destroyed, areas needing protection against improper use, etc.
5. D. H. Meadows, D. L. Meadows, J. Randers, W. B. Behrens, III. *The Limits to Growth. Report of the Rome's Project on the Predicament of Mankind*, New York 1972.
6. Meadows and others: *The Limits...*, p. 132 and next report that pollution factors are increasing more rapidly than population.
7. So, establishing atomic power stations, regaining and recycling raw materials, exploitating natural resources which it is not presently economically feasible to exploit, practicing birth-control and so on.
8. J. A. Swan: *Attitudes and Values and Environmental Education*, in: T. R. Armstrong (ed.): *Why Do We Still Have An Ecological Crisis?*, Englewood Cliffs 1972, p. 126 and next.
9. M. Kaczorowski in a review about B. Prandecka's book: *Wzrost gospodarczy Polski w układzie przestrzennym* (*Poland's Economical Growth in Spatial Aspects*), "Gospodarka i Administracja Terenowa" 1970, No. 9, p. 47.
10. For instance, use of micro-climatic parameters causes changes in rural and urban socio-economical regional planning. See K. Chomicz: *Rola i zadania meteorologii w ochronie środowiska naturalnego* (*Function and Goals of the Meteorology in Environmental Protection*), "Biuletyn Zarządu Głównego Ligi Ochrony Przyrody", 1973, No. 5, p. 10 – 11.
11. About illusory development – see Z. T. Wierzbicki: *Aktywizacja i rozwój społeczności lokalnej w socjologicznej perspektywie* (*Activation and Development of Local Community From the*

Sociological Perspective), "Studia Socjologiczne", 1973, No. 1, p. 52–53, and I. Szelenyi: *Socjologiczna perspektywa badań rozwoju regionów oraz planowania regionalnego* (*The Sociological Development Researches and Regional Planning*), in: Z. T. Wierzbicki (ed.): *Aktywizacja i rozwój społeczności lokalnej* (*Activation and Development of the Local Communities*), Wrocław 1973. Regions and local communities which are in a state of unbalanced ecological equilibrium resulting in extreme poverty and cultural deformations, could be called "neoteric", a term coined by N. W. S. Gonzales and J. C. Belcher. See John C. Belcher: *Ecological Factors in Community Development* 1972 (mimeographed).

12. Among many directives mentioned by M. Opallo: *Mierniki rozwoju regionów* (*Measures of Regional Development*), Warszawa 1972, none concerns protection of the natural environment. The book stresses the importance of the right choice of factors for spatial planning and location of investments while only casually mentioning problems of natural protection (p. 152–156).

13. R. M. Solow: *The Economist's Approach to Pollution and Its Control*, [in:] T. R. Armstrong (ed.): *Why Do We Still Have...*, p. 50.

14. Why in a centrally planned economy is the law concerning nature's protection so inefficient? Prof. Z. Brzeziński's writings suggest that this may be due to the fact that planning laws are dynamic because they are based on financial incentives, not taking into account the secondary effects of economic output, while protection laws are static, operating with classical forms of administrative law (system of orders and prohibitions). See T. Wilgat: *Ochrona wartości środowiska przyrodniczego w Polsce* (*Protection of Natural Environment Values in Poland*), [in:] *Problemy środowiska człowieka* (*Problems of Man's Environment*), „Biuletyn Komitetu Przestrzennego Zagospodarowania Kraju PAN", No. 68, Warszawa 1971, p. 202.

II. AGRICULTURE AND THE FARM

RYSZARD MANTEUFFEL

CHANGES IN INDIVIDUAL FARMING DURING THE 30 YEARS OF THE POLISH PEOPLES REPUBLIC

The production unit in agriculture is an individual or a group of people utilizing means of production. With the land serving as their particular means of production they cultivate agricultural products: foodstuffs and raw materials for light industry. The individual farm, as a production unit, has to assure the farmer's family fair earnings as remuneration for their work on the farm.

The present article deals exclusively with the changes on the individual farm and in the farmer's family during the 30 years of Poland's third independent state existence.

Official GUS (Central Statistical Office) statistics do not provide much nationwide information and the indices for the economy and organization of individual farms are presented on a microscale, i.e., on the farm level. This author had to base himself in a number of cases on representative samples investigated by the Institute of Agricultural Economy (IER). The farms involved are operated by farmers whom the Institute helps keep accounts. Their average size is almost identical with the average all-Polish farm area, namely somewhat over 5 ha or with the mean area of arable of the farms investigated by IER which amounted to 5.60 – 6.17 ha during the 16 investigated years (from 1957/58 to 1972/73). The number of respondent farms run from 1200 to 1400.

The present article is composed of five parts: 1. Man-Producer, 2. The Land, 3. Stocks of Fixed Assets, 4. Stocks of Circulating Assets, 5. Assessment of Economic Effectiveness.

The GUS data derive from the 3 main general censuses: of 1950, 1960 and 1970. Such data were not collected or published by GUS in periods between censuses. Whereas the IER data, as indicated above, cover a period of 16 years beginning 1957/58. Earlier figures do not provide much information for they cover a period of adaptation of the agricultural economy to a different socio-political system and to the changes effected by the Agrarian Reform of 1944 (Table 1).

p. 154 blank

Table 1

Population: rural, agricultural and employed in agriculture
(in 1000 persons)

Population	1950	1960	1970
National total	25 008	29 776	32 589
Rural	15 743	15 382	15 582
Agricultural	11 598	11 281	9 623
Engaged in agriculture	5 419	5 298	5 485
Engaged on individual farms	5 041	4 871	4 676
Total per ha	27.6	27.5	28.9

Source data from general censuses as above GUS

I. MAN-PRODUCER

The country's total population increased in the 3 decades from 25 to 30 to 32 million. The rural population maintained practically the same level for 20 years 15.5 mil. The agricultural population declined by 2 mil. – from 11.5 to 9.5. Nevertheless, employment in agriculture remained constant or even increased somewhat. The average age of persons engaged in agriculture rose considerably, while the farmer's profession was undergoing feminization. The 5 mil. engaged on individual farms declined by 300 000 while the general area of the individual sector was reduced to such an extent that the number employed on 100 ha, originally 27.5 persons, increased in the same reckoning by 1 person. This figure declined after 1970, but that drop is only apparent, since productive power per employed fell for the reasons indicated. Production nevertheless increased owing (at least according to Prof. J. Poniatowski) to school children who had to help on the farm (which is of course negatively reflected in their educational progress). (Table 2).

Labour input per output unit has thus declined since 1960 by an average of one-third. But since output increased more or less by as much, input per hectare did not decline. This is confirmed by the previous information that the number of employed per ha did not decrease. The tendency to farm modernization is observable after 1970 also in individual farming. But this cannot be comprised in mass statistics.

Specialization raises hopes of relieving farm women of overwork, freeing them particularly from the arduous toil of animal breeding. One cow requires 125 days of labour per year, while a farm with 10 cows requires 44 days of labour per cow (Table 3).

The smaller the farm the relatively greater is woman's burden of work (Table 4). A 1 hectare farm occupies 9.5 women for each man and farms with a cultivated area above 10 ha only 1 woman. To free women of labour directly connected with production, especially animal breeding, it is necessary to specialize precisely in animal husbandry so that men can take over the work. It also requires increasing the size of farms.

Table 2

Labour input in days per output unit
(according to IER poll)

Years	The 4 staple grains per q	Potatoes per q	Sugar beets per q	Rapeseed per q	Hogs on the hoof per q	Beef on the hoof per q	Milk per 100 l	eggs per 100 pieces
1960	1.98	0.73	0.46	3.26	22.7	19.0	3.81	1.54
1965	1.47	0.56	0.39	1.88	19.0	17.0	3.39	1.30
1966	1.47	0.49	0.33	2.18	18.3	15.6	3.13	1.23
1967	1.44	0.47	0.29	1.76	18.4	15.5	3.11	1.23
1968	1.24	0.43	0.28	1.78	17.6	14.5	2.91	1.11
1969	1.22	0.47	0.35	2.86	17.9	15.1	3.01	1.12
1970	1.41	0.48	0.31	1.89	17.7	14.6	2.92	1.12
1971	1.07	1.57	0.31	1.91	17.1	13.8	2.76	1.03
1972	0.99	0.43	0.27	2.19	15.7	12.2	2.45	0.94

Source: „Zagadnienia Ekonomiki Rolnej", 1972: Suppl. to nrs 5 and 6.

Table 3

Labour input per cow, depending on the number of cows on the farm (including feed production)

Number of cows per farm	Labour input per cow in days
1	125
2	96
3	80
4	71
5	69
6	58
7	53
8	50
9	47
10	44

Source: As in table 2.

Table 4

Number of women employed per one employed man

Size of farm in ha	Number of women engaged per 1 man
0.1 – 0.5	9.3
0.5 – 2.0	5.0
2.0 – 5.0	1.8
5.0 – 10.0	1.2
above 10.0	1.0

Source: data from 1970 general census — GUS

2. THE LAND

In 1950 the proportion of up to 2 ha farms was virtually the same as in 1931, of 2–5 ha – somewhat smaller and of 5–15 ha – greater (Table 5).

Table 5

Farms according to the area of the arable (in percentages)

Years	No of farms in 1000	From 0.1 to 0.5 ha	0.5 ha and over										Over 50 ha
			total	0.5–1	1–2	2–3	3–5	5–7	7–10	10–14 or 10–15	14–20 or 15–20	20 and over	
1931	3196.4			25.5		38.7		24.8		6.5	4.0		0.5
1950	3168.5	6.3	93.7	6.5	13.1	11.8	19.5	15.1	15.7	7.8	2.9	0.3	
1960	3591.9	9.7	90.3	8.5	14.6	11.9	18.5	13.2	12.9	7.9	1.8	1.0	
1970	3399.0	10.7	89.3	8.8	13.9	10.9	17.5	13.0	13.1	8.7	2.3	1.1	

Source: data from general censuses of 1931, 1950, 1960 and 1970 GUS

A certain tendency to farm polarization appeared by 1970: a rise in the proportion of 0.1–5 ha farms and in the percentage of small farms of 0.5–7 ha. There was at the same time a weak rising tendency in the ratio of above 7 ha farm group.

The price of 1 ha of cultivable land on old terrain oscillated between 14 800 and 42 700 zlotys (Bydgoszcz – Cracow) and depending on the soil quality, between 15 700 and 33 800 zlotys for poor and better soil respectively. While the money value of an hectare of the old land declined by 10 p.c. and in terms of grain value by 33 per cent between 1960–1971 (Table 6).

Table 6

Average price of 1 ha of arable

Years	in 1000 zlotys	in q of rye
1960	27.9	101.8
1965	27.1	78.1
1970	24.2	66.7
1971	24.9	67.3

3. STOCK OF FIXED ASSETS

In the first two decades melioration increased the new arable tenfold and in the next 15 years by 3 times. It then dropped to the level of a twofold increase and the falling tendency is continuing (Table 7).

New melioration on meadowland doubled then dropped to the original level while reconstructed melioration fell to $^1/_3$ of the original level. The tempo of large melioration projects on marshy ground was fortunately che-

Table 7

Melioration in 1000 ha

	1950 1955	1956 1960	1961–1965	1966–1969
Melioration of arable				
new	39.8	65.6	297.9	418.0
reconstructed	149.9	212.5	451.2	248.3
Melioration of meadows and pastures				
new	184.6	160.4	363.2	219.3
reconstructed	364.8	142.2	221.4	136.9

Source: *Rocznik Statystyczny*, GUS 1971.

Table 8

The gross value dynamic of fixes asset on
indyvidual farms
(per ha) (in 1000 zlotys)

1960	1965	1969
29.7	33.3	36.6
100 per cent	112.4 per cent	123.2 per cent

Source: *Rocznik Statystyczny Rolnictwa*, GUS 1971.

Table 9

The individual farms' tractor park and its dynamic
(in physical pieces)

	1960	1965	1970	1971
In 1000 pieces	12.5	16.1	43.7	60.4
In percentages	100.0	128.8	349.6	483.2
Number of ha per one statistical tractor	525		101	83

Source: *Rocznik Statystyczny*, GUS 1972.

cked. Much of that was done was unnecessary and even harmful from a social point of view. For more and more is it being said nowadays that turf marshes are natural water reservoires of great significance to the protection of the natural environment.

Fixed assets were at one time rapidly decapitalized on individual farms. Today this process has stopped, although their increase in value (by 23 per cent) because of the rise in the prices of building materials by 100 per cent or more, means that the values of fixed assets only remained on a more or less constant level (Table 8).

In 1950 the tractor park was equal to zero. Since 1960 the number of tractors increased fivefold but that is not much (13 KM per 100 ha of arable), considering that one statistical tractor falls to 83 ha on individual farms–

Table 10

Some individual and common agricultural machines on individual farms
(in 1000 pieces)

Year	Tractors			Drills	Reapers	Harvesters	Sheaf binders	Potato diggers	Threshers		3-phase electric engines	Carts	
	own	Agricultural Circles and Hamlet Machine Centres	total						without cleaning	with cleaning		rubber tyres	usual
1950		2.6	2.6	182.4	125.4	89.3	14.1	148.7	459.1*	57.1	130.5	55.0*	1811.1*
									497.1			56.7	
1960	13.3	6.9	20.2	320.2	243.5	146.0	39.9	329.1	471.7*	86.8	274.3	500.3*	1677.8
									500.4			505.2	
1970	43.7	91.0	135.6	555.4	567.8	157.4	77.6	675.5	492.8*	134.4	787.2	1520.7*	

Sources: general cents data, as above GUS.
* OWN estimates.

as many as on state farms in 1948. But traction power increased rapidly in 1970/71 (Table 9).

The rate of increase in the number of tractors on individual farms has accelerated in recent years. In 1974, discounting tractors of the Agricultural Circles and treating this institution as an independent sector, there were more tractors in individual farming than in the other sectors of agriculture. In 1970 there were still twice as many tractors in the Agricultural Circles than on individual farms (Table 10). The number of reapers, binders and electric engines showed a rapid rate of increase. The number of threshing machines remained constant and the number of carts on rubber wheels shows a tremendous increase (Table 11).

Table 11

Electrification of individual farms
in percentage of total farms

Year	Percentage
1960	58.1
1965	75.4
1969	85.7

Number of electric engines
on individual farms

Years	in 1000
1960	274.3
1965	385.0
1969	492.1

Source: *Rocznik Statystyczny Rolnictwa*, GUS 1971.

Table 12

Animal husbandry on individual farms
in heads per 100 ha

Year	Cattle		swine	sheep	horses
	total	cows			
1950	39.2	26.8	50.5	11.8	15.3
1960	45.7	31.7	67.1	19.2	15.5
1970	58.0	35.0	75.9	17.3	16.1
1972	59.7	34.2	96.5	16.5	15.1
1973	52.9	34.6	109.3	15.8	14.9

Source: data from 1950, 1960, 1970 general censuses, GUS: *Rocznik Statystyczny*, GUS 1974.

Great progress is to be noted in farm electrification. Today more than 90 per cent of farms have electricity, but not all with threephase current. The periodic and what is worse unexpected cutting off of power is very

Table 13

Individual farms according to the number of cows and horses

Farm size in ha	Year	Total	Without cows	With cows				Without horses	With horses		3 and more
				1	2	3	4 and more		1	2	
			Number of farms								
Total	1950	3168.5	576.2	1268.7	965.9	252.2	105.5	1416.4	1103.1	490.2	158.8
	1960	3591.9	814.0	1330.6	1013.3	294.3	139.7	1786.6	1273.5	456.2	75.6
	1970	3399.0	861.0	976.6	959.2	378.8	223.3	1695.4	1153.7	469.3	80.5
			Farms in percentages								
Total	1950		18.2	40.0	30.5	7.9	3.4	44.7	34.8	15.5	5.0
	1960		22.7	37.0	28.2	8.2	3.9	49.7	35.5	12.7	2.1
	1970		25.3	28.8	28.2	11.1	6.8	49.9	33.9	13.8	2.4
0,1 0,5	1950		86.1	12.7	1.1	0.1	0.0	98.6	1.2	0.2	0.0
	1960		89.8	9.6	0.6	0.0	0.0	98.8	1.1	0.1	0.0
	1970		93.3	6.2	0.5	0.0	0.0	99.1	0.8	0.1	0.0
0,5 and over	1950		13.6	41.9	32.5	8.5	3.5	41.1	37.2	16.5	5.3
	1960		15.4	40.0	31.2	9.1	4.3	44.5	39.1	14.1	2.3
	1970		17.2	31.4	31.5	12.5	7.4	44.0	37.8	15.5	2.7
0,5 1	1950		56.9	39.2	3.7	0.2	0.0	96.7	2.9	0.3	0.1
	1960		63.7	33.6	2.6	0.1	0.0	96.4	3.4	0.2	0.0
	1970		70.0	27.1	2.8	0.1	0.0	96.6	3.2	0.2	0.0
1 2	1950		27.1	59.7	12.6	0.5	0.1	89.9	9.1	0.9	0.1
	1960		31.2	57.6	10.8	0.4	0.0	88.2	11.2	0.6	0.0
	1970		36.1	51.4	11.8	0.6	0.1	89.0	10.5	0.5	0.0

2–3	1950	14.0	56.4	27.4	2.1	0.1	71.2	25.3	3.2	0.3
	1960	14.5	58.7	25.3	1.4	0.1	69.7	28.7	1.5	0.1
	1970	16.6	52.1	28.9	2.2	0.2	70.2	28.0	1.7	0.1
3–5	1950	8.6	46.8	38.5	5.5	0.6	39.4	49.1	10.2	1.3
	1960	6.8	48.6	39.7	4.5	0.4	38.8	55.6	5.3	0.3
	1970	7.6	39.1	45.1	7.3	0.9	38.9	54.6	6.2	0.3
5–7	1950	6.1	37.8	44.0	10.4	1.7	16.7	60.1	19.9	3.3
	1960	3.7	34.7	49.0	10.9	1.7	16.3	69.2	13.6	0.9
	1970	3.8	24.4	51.0	17.4	3.4	16.9	66.9	15.1	1.1
7–10	1950	4.9	30.9	44.0	15.7	4.5	8.2	52.9	31.5	7.4
	1960	2.5	22.6	46.7	21.7	6.5	7.9	57.3	31.6	3.2
	1970	2.6	14.7	42.5	28.6	11.6	9.0	55.2	32.1	3.7
10–14 10–15	1950	4.1	23.8	39.4	20.8	11.9	4.5	34.9	42.9	17.7
	1960	1.8	14.1	36.1	28.2	19.8	4.3	34.0	51.8	9.9
	1970	1.7	8.5	28.2	31.4	30.2	5.0	33.4	51.0	10.6
14–20 15–20	1950	3.6	16.7	30.9	22.8	26.0	3.1	19.0	44.0	33.9
	1960	1.5	9.8	26.0	25.6	37.1	3.1	19.8	56.2	20.9
	1970	1.3	5.4	18.0	25.7	49.6	3.6	20.9	56.4	19.1
20 and over	1950	4.6	14.4	21.3	17.9	41.8	4.2	12.3	29.4	54.1
	1960	2.2	8.0	19.7	20.4	49.7	4.5	14.1	44.9	36.5
	1970	1.6	4.6	13.1	18.6	62.1	4.1	15.9	50.7	29.3

Source: 1950, 1960 and 1970 general census data – GUS.

Table 14

Average number of various breeds of animals and trends of their exploitation on individual farms according to class

Year	No of farms in 1000	From 0.1 to 0.5	0.5 ha and over										Average per farm
			total	From 0.1 to 0.5	1 – 2	2 – 3	3 – 5	5 – 7	7 – 10	10 – 14 or 10 – 15	14 – 20 or 15 – 20	20 and over	
								total cattle					
1950	3 168.5	1.89	2.18	0.59	1.13	1.60	2.01	2.40	2.80	3.44	4.50	6.15	2.06
1960	3 591.9	1.27	2.10	0.46	0.98	1.44	1.89	2.40	3.11	4.07	5.18	6.54	1.91
1970	3 399.0	0.93	2.63	0.42	0.99	1.59	2.20	2.93	3.91	5.34	6.92	10.59	2.35
								cows					
1950		0.15	1.49	0.47	0.87	1.18	1.43	1.64	1.85	2.18	2.72	3.53	1.40
1960		0.11	1.49	0.39	0.80	1.14	1.43	1.72	2.09	2.59	3.18	3.88	1.36
1970		0.07	1.66	0.33	0.77	1.17	1.55	1.93	2.35	2.95	3.62	5.19	1.49
								pigs					
1950		0.53	2.93	0.83	1.17	1.67	2.35	3.21	4.13	5.38	7.17	9.54	2.78
1960		0.59	3.24	0.95	1.31	1.80	2.56	3.73	5.73	6.89	8.80	10.49	2.98
1970		0.35	3.68	0.86	1.21	1.83	2.75	4.09	5.77	8.12	10.52	14.99	3.32
								sheep					
1950		0.06	0.65	0.12	0.18	0.26	0.44	0.69	0.98	1.44	1.92	2.67	0.61
1960		0.09	0.66	0.17	0.24	0.35	0.51	0.74	1.03	1.48	2.00	2.81	0.61
1970		0.09	0.65	0.18	0.21	0.28	0.40	0.63	0.93	1.49	2.38	5.48	0.59

						total horses						
1950	0.02	0.88	0.04	0.11	0.33	0.74	1.10	1.39	1.77	2.19	2.87	0.82
1960	0.01	0.75	0.04	0.12	0.32	0.67	0.99	1.30	1.68	1.99	2.34	0.68
1970	0.01	0.77	0.04	0.12	0.32	0.68	0.01	1.31	1.68	1.95	2.59	0.09
						horses: 3-years old and older						
1959	0.01	0.61	0.03	0.08	0.23	0.52	0.77	0.97	1.19	1.48	1.99	0.57
1960	0.01	0.63	0.04	0.11	0.28	0.57	0.85	1.08	1.36	1.59	1.87	0.57
1970	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•

Source: 1950, 1960 and 1970 general census – GUS troublesome especially for farms with milking machines, telephones or incubators. This often holds up the complete electrification of farms.

The number of heads of cattle increased by 30 percent, swine by 100 per cent, sheep only by 25 per cent, in the 25 year period. The number of horses declined by only 3 per cent, which is due, among other things, to the small farms which do not want to part with their own draft power especially in transport and cannot afford a tractor. It may be assumed that the number of horses will decrease only in measure with the increase in the size of farms (Tables 13, 14).

The number of heads of all livestock is slowly declining on farms up to 3 ha and gradually increasing on farms over 3 ha, the rate of increase being commensurate with the size of the farm. And that is interesting and comforting. It may be assumed that specialized farms are involved, where the number of heads of cattle, particularly of cows, is not tied up with the family. But the number of cows is the same in 0.1 0.5 ha and 2 3 ha farms.

A clear increase was noted in 1970 in the proportion of farms with a larger number of cows per farm and a decrease in the percentage with 1 or 2 cows (Table 13). The number of horses per farm increased in the same year in all size classes except farms above 15 ha (Table 14).

4. CIRCULATING ASSETS

Within the space of 15 years the application of NPK per ha increased by 4 times and of CaO 10 times in 1969 as much as in the state farms. As compared to the first post-war year when the use of NPK amounted to 8.9 kg per ha, the application of artificial fertilizers has increased 14 times (Table 15).

For a period of 10 years the sale of fodder grain fell almost to zero. Peasant farms began to raise their own grain and the sale of mixed power feed increased fivefold, amounting on the average to 1.4 q per ha on peasant farms. (Table 16).

Table 15

Application of artificial fertilizers in terms of pure ingrediens (NPK) and CaO by indyvidual and cooperative farms (in 1000 tons)

Year	NPK	CaO	kg per ha	
			CaO NPK	CaO
1945/46	•	•	8.9	•
1954/55	412.2	143.9	31.8	10.8
1964/65	853.1	643.8	64.9	49.0
1968/69	1605.2	1319.4	124.1	102.0

Source: *Rocznik Statystyczny*, GUS 1971

Table 16

Sale of power feed to individual and cooperative farms (in 1000 tons)

Year	grain fodder	mixed power feed
1960	856.6	459.7
1965	231.8	1491.2
1969	13.3	2275.4

Source: *Rocznik Statystyczny Rolnictwa*, GUS 1971.

Table 17

Average prices of agricultural products 1955 – 1969 (in zlotys)

Product	Unit	1955	1960	1965	1969	Price increase in 15 year period
Wheat	q	137	262	329	361	2,5 times
Rye	q	81	160	205	239	3.0 ,,
Barley	q	79	277	302	342	4.0 ,,
Oats	q	70	134	203	233	3.5 ,,
Potatoes	q	16 – 57	64	78	85	2.0 ,,
Sugar beets	q	48	60	60	60	by 20 per cent
Rapeseed and agrimony	q	650	786	794	820	by 25 ,, ,,
Cattle on the hoof	kg	5.05	10.20	10.65	11.76	2.5 times
Pigs on the hoof meat-bacon	kg	9.89	15.54	17.81	18.74	2.0 ,,
Milk	l	1.41	2.34	2.60	2.63	2.0 ,,
Eggs	pieces	1.12	1.45	1.48	1.55	by 50 per cent

Source: *Rocznik Statystyczny Rolnictwa*, GUS 1971.

The value of purchased circulating assets, particularly power feed and fertilizers, was influenced by the ratio of the sales prices of agricultural produce to the prices of factory made means of production. We therefore compare the average prices of agricultural products with the prices of some means of production over a 15 year period (Table 17). After 1970 the prices of cattle on the hoof and of animal products rose still higher, more or less by 100 per cent (Table 18).

After 1956 the agricultural situation radically improved. The general prices of agricultural produce, besides other benefits, have been rising considerably faster than prices of means of production, except for heavy machinery and building materials (Table 18).

The magnitude of credits available to indyvidual farmers increased greatly after 1956. However, the farmers showed no excessive desire to draw credits. In 1970 credits per ha amounted to 1 500 zlotys, while the individual farms' total indebtedness per ha reached 2900000 zlotys which must be regarded as minimal. In terms of a clear hectare of land, without

Table 18

Prices of some means of agricultural production in 1955–1969
(in zlotys)

Means of production	Unit	1955	1960	1965	1969	price increase in 15 years
Fertilizers: 20.5 per cent ammonium nitrate and calcium carbonate	100 kg	45	82	64	60	by 33 per cent
Superphosphates 18 per cent pulverized	100 kg	24	40	31	29	by 20 per cent
Potash salts 42 per cent	100 kg	31	40	31	29	
Fertilizing lime 85 per cent ground	100 kg	5	11	8	8	by 60 per cent
Brick	1000 pieces	201	447	372	413	2 times
Plow	1 piece	60	147	131	123	2 times
Vaporizer	100 l	314	281	308	290	–
Light cylindrical chaff cutting machine	1 piece	420	762	655	617	by 50 per cent

Source: *Rocznik Statystyczny Rolnictwa*, GUS 1971.

Table 19

Credits and advances on conctracts to the rural population, Agricultular Circles and associations

Year	Total	For the rural population				Agricultural Circles and associations	Advances on contracts by sugar refineries	State of indebtedness
		totals	long term	medial term	short term			
				in millions zlotys				
1960	8 917	6 778	1 457	840	4 481	47	2 092	10 276
1970	23 965	20 959	4 518	1 928	14 513	761	2 245	47 250
				in zlotys per ha of arable				
1960	503	382	82	47	253	3	118	580
1970	1 470	1 285	277	118	890	47	138	2 898

Source: data from general census for years as above.

buildings or any movable means of production, at the average sales price of the Agricultural Bank for land belonging to the State Land Funds (25000 zlotys), that indebtedness would amount to about 12 per cent of the price of land.

Individual farms employ practically no steady agricultural workers, who

Appendix

Income creation and division on individu

Specification	1957/58	1958/59	1959/60	1960/61	1961/62	1962/63	1963/64
Production							
Gross production	64.9	66.6	70.8	74.2	80.3	76.8	84.2
agricultural	64.8	66.5	70.7	74.1	80.2	76.7	84.1
vegetable	34.0	34.2	35.4	37.2	41.1	39.0	43.2
animal	30.8	32.3	35.3	36.9	38.5	37.7	40.9
non-agricultural	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Material inputs	31.0	32.7	35.7	37.5	40.0	38.9	42.0
Net output	33.9	33.9	35.1	36.7	40.3	37.9	42.2
Income off the farm	3.8	3.7	4.7	5.1	5.4	5.5	6.4
General income	37.7	37.6	39.8	41.8	45.7	43.4	48.6
Division of net output							
Taxes	2.1	2.3	2.6	2.5	2.9	3.0	3.1
Insurance	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.9	0.9	1.0
Compulsory delivery charges	2.4	2.2	2.3	2.2	2.2	2.3	2.6
Land annuity and interest	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
Hired labourers	1.0	1.1	0.9	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.3
Income from the farm	27.4	27.3	28.3	29.9	32.9	30.2	34.0
Division of personal income							
Personal income	31.2	31.0	33.0	35.0	38.3	35.7	40.4
Consumption	25.6	26.4	29.6	31.2	33.2	33.8	36.3
Accumulation	4.6	3.3	3.4	3.8	5.1	1.9	4.1
Number of farms	1192.0	1016.0	1199.0	1180.0	1238.0	1264.0	1265.0
Average yield (q/ha):							
4 staple grains		14.8		16.1			
potatoes		128.0		132.0			
sugar beets		245.0		262.0			

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ıl farms in 1000 zloty per farm

1964/65	1965/66	1966/67	1967/68	1968/69	1969/70	1970/71	1971/72	1972/73
88.4	95.2	97.4	101.5	105.0	106.7	114.1	131.6	151.0
88.3	95.1	97.3	101.4	104.9	106.6	113.9	131.5	150.9
43.6	47.9	49.4	51.6	54.3	54.9	56.0	61.2	70.6
44.7	47.2	47.9	49.8	50.6	51.7	57.9	70.3	80.3
0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1
44.0	47.6	49.9	51.1	52.9	54.5	57.3	63.7	73.2
44.4	47.6	47.5	50.4	52.1	52.2	56.8	67.9	77.8
7.1	7.7	8.3	8.9	8.7	9.0	9.3	10.6	11.7
51.5	55.3	55.8	59.3	60.8	61.2	66.1	78.5	89.5
3.1	3.1	3.0	3.1	3.2	3.2	3.0	3.3	5.0
0.9	0.7	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.5
2.3	2.4	2.3	2.4	2.5	2.4	2.5	1.6	
0.2	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.6
1.5	2.1	2.0	2.1	2.4	2.1	2.3	2.2	2.6
36.4	39.0	38.8	41.2	42.4	42.7	47.3	59.0	68.1
43.5	46.7	47.1	50.1	51.1	51.7	56.6	69.6	79.8
38.3	40.3	42.1	43.6	44.5	45.3	48.4	54.3	58.9
5.2	6.4	5.0	6.5	6.6	6.4	8.2	15.2	20.9
1314.0	1312.0	1307.0	1323.0	1325.0	1321.0	1369.0	1413.0	
	19.1					19.8		24.0
	154.0					184.0		185.0
	266.0					318.0		335.0

THE COMMUNITY ASSESSMENT SYSTEM

last amounted to about 15000 on a nationwide scale. The farms that do, because of the lack of manpower of their own, hire a few day labourers during the height of the season. They are hence also interested in the money price of a day's work, which by 1960 rose by almost 25 per cent and increased somewhat in terms of grain. But it is high in comparison with the pre-war period (Table 20).

Table 20

Daily wage of day labourers-scythe mowning

Year	Wage	
	in zlotys	in kg of rye
1950		30.9
1960	112	40.9
1965	128	36.9
1970	146	40.2
1971	153	41.3

Source: *Rocznik Statystyczny*, GUS 1972

5. ASSESSMENT OF ECONOMIC EFFECTIVENESS

The most systematic gauge of the effectiveness of individual farming, from the viewpoint of the farmer and his family, is the income from the farm or per family. The income of a family of 4 is on the average 12000 zlotys a year per family member or 4000 a month (including accumulation). If 2 family members work on the farm, each earns 2000 zlotys a month on the average. That is still not much, but it is in reasonable proportion to the general level of earnings in the country (Table 21).

Table 21

Income from agriculture per individual farm.
Its magnitude and dynamic in 1960/61 – 1970/71

	1960/61	1965/66	1968/69	1970/71
In 1000 zlotys	29.0	39.0	42.4	47.1
In percentage	100.0	130.4	141.8	158.2

Source: *Rocznik Statystyczny*, GUS, 1962, 1969, 1970, 1971.

Synthesized data for later years shape-up as follows. Earnings from a day's labour in agriculture amounted on a national scale to an average of 131 zlotys in 1971 and 152 zlotys in economic year 1972/73. The average net output value on individual farms amounted in 1972/73 to 108900 zlotys, of which vegetable – 33300 and animal – 75600 zlotys.

CONCLUSIONS

The first dozen years or so of the last 3 decades were difficult ones for individual farming. As the least destroyed division of the national economy and able to somehow produce with minimum outlays, agriculture then carried a considerable share of the burden of the reconstruction and expansion of industry. It was possible to gradually ease that burden in measure with the growth of the national economy. Thus the first appreciable improvement in the situation of Polish agriculture came in 1956. The next step in that direction was taken in 1970 when obligatory deliveries to the state were completely abolished and agricultural prices were again raised. It should be borne in mind that the present article does not cover the entire 30 year period but only the last 15 20 years.

In that period the purchasing prices of agricultural produce (except industrial plants) rose by 2 3 times. Hence the farmer's lesser interest in sugar beets the prices of which were recently increased to almost 70 zlotys a q. The prices of agricultural means of production also rose to various degrees, but not by as much as the prices of agricultural products. The application of fertilizers and of power feed greatly increased in that period. Large areas were meliorated, although it was not always necessary. Individual farms were almost completely electrified, although current transmission is not always efficient. Decapitalization of fixed assets has been checked. The village is able to benefit from cheap credits in practice almost unlimited.

Farm accounting, aided by the Institute of Agricultural Economy, suggests the following picture of the economic situation of individual farming in Poland:

Gross output and material input rose in the last 16 years by 2.5 times. The increase in the cost of hired help rose to a similar degree. Net output kept pace with gross production. Farm income rose more gradually. Internal farm accumulation commenced to increase only in the last two years after staying constant for a long period.

It seems however that the effects are not fully commensurate with expenditures, especially since there can no longer be any question of declining investment effectiveness because the level of production intensity was not high as yet. The question hence arises where to seek the causes. One of them surely was the lack of a consistent policy in past years towards individual farming and of a clear decision on which farms to support. There was hence a misunderstanding in regards to the so-called 'paupers', the small farmers, who most often follow dual occupations today and belong to the group of highest earners in the rural areas. Some other organizational-structural mistakes were: the character of the employees of the Agricultural Service's local administration as an apparatus transmitting directions and executing them, not always proper government measures and the resulting farmers' lack of confidence in the continuity of policy.

In the final account the level of the individual farm as a production enterprise was not raised for many years. Only since 1970 are there observable certain expressions of modernization. There are even examples of excellent individual farms operated by enlightened farmers of great initiative and ability to grasp the intentions of the authorities in this sphere. The figures indicating certain tendencies to increase the animal herds testify to this to a minimum degree. On the whole, the modest statistics do not yet point to a dominant trend, although the improved indices of recent years are promising.

Polish agriculture, especially its individual sector, is already beginning to experience difficulties which may shortly become serious. This is the question of women's work on the farm. There is reference today to the phenomenon of feminization of agriculture that is true. Ever more individual farms are run by women. And on socialized farms, except for jobs connected with technique, women are being engaged to a growing extent. Girls constitute a growing proportion of young students at agricultural technical schools, which from a social viewpoint is not a positive phenomenon. It means that our agriculture may be beginning to resemble the Eastern type with direct or indirect Mohammedan tradition. But agricultural production is not endangered nor is the country's food supply threatened. The females engaged today in agricultural production are mainly married or older single women. The gradually approaching danger is of another kind.

It is not entirely true that young men do not want to stay on the farm. It is the girls who do not wish to be permanently tied to the farm out of fear of their mothers' fate: heavy toil from dawn to dusk without holidays or even vacations. Girls simply do not want to marry young farmers, particularly individual farmers. Consequently when a young man cannot find a wife and faces the prospect of a lonely life on the farm, he finally throws up his hands, abandons the farm and seeks happiness in another occupation.

In my opinion, the only proper escape from this situation in the near future is to change the organization of the individual farm in such a manner that the men work in production and the women limit themselves to the household and care of the children. All citizens and the government authorities must become aware of this. If Poland's self-sufficiency in foodstuffs is to continue, our economy must create for individual farming the conditions indicated here.

ANNA SZEMBERG

PROCESSES OF DIFFERENTIATION OF PEASANT FARMS IN POLAND

Research on the processes of differentiation of peasant farms conducted by the Warsaw Institute of Agricultural Economy indicated their essential acceleration in recent years. Alongside the predominant number of dynamically developing farms a group of stagnating or regressing ones is ever more clearly observable. This is associated with the internal phenomena of the peasant economy, but that is in turn the result of conditions prevailing in the entire national economy. The accelerated rate of industrial development after 1970 of the non-agricultural branches intensified the eflux of manpower from agriculture. This process, although beneficial and justified on the macro scale, effects a strong differentiation of farms, in respect of manpower reserves and their quality. At the same time the country's constantly growing demand for foodstuffs requires the intensification of agriculture and modernization of farms. Not all farmers benefit to the same degree from the possibility thus created for the increased flow of material and financial means for agriculture. This causes greater differences between farms in the stock of means of production and consequently in productivity, production results and farm income.

Rural economic policy also plays a certain role in peasant farm differentiation. In fulfilling the basic task, namely the rapid increase of agricultural production,[1] government policy is applied very selectively because of the varied conditions of the farms. Thus, for instance, raising the profitability of given groups of agricultural products has varied effects on different producers, depending on the quality of the soil, the scale of production, degree of farm modernization and on the farm operator's know-how and activity. Other measure of agrarian policy such as: credits, equipment with universally desirable but scare means of production, etc. have the same effect as prices.

PROCESS OF POLARIZATION OF FARM SIZE

Improvement of the defective agrarian structure of peasant farming has thus far proceeded slowly in Poland. The most important cause of this has

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been the relative manpower surplus expressed, among other things, in the fact that peasant farms now occupy on the average 27 persons per 100 ha. The intensive efflux over many years of labour power mainly young people from agriculture to non-agricultural production branches has caused a clear manpower deficit in some farms. Another demographic process, namely the aging of farm operators (35 per cent of whom are now over 60) works in the same direction. To this must be added the relatively slow tempo of mechanization of peasant farms, which hampers the substitution of manpower by machinery. This created in recent years objective conditions favourable to the improvement of the agrarian structure. While the developmental tendency of that structure indicates a sharpening differentiation of farms.

The very tendency of change in the agrarian structure in 1960–1970 attests to differentiation. Only farms up to 0.5 ha and over 10 ha increased in number, while farms of all other groups declined. The increased number of farms of both extremes shows intensified differentiation: in other words, in an expression of the stronger (polar) differentiation among farm operators. But it constitutes a particular kind of selectiveness, the cause of which must be sought primarily outside agriculture. There has been a growth in the number of the biggest farms with marketable production on a large scale and highest incomes, on the one hand, and an increased number of dwarf farms whose owners are not really farmers, on the other.

The present study focuses on the changes within peasant farms and hence attaches greater importance to farms over 0.5 ha whose owners are engaged wholly or partly in agriculture. Tendencies of change in the size of farms is an expression of differentiation in peasant farming.

In the five years 1967–1972, 37 per cent of all farms underwent a change in size: 22 per cent increased their areas and 15 per cent reduced. It is characteristic that both directions of change appeared in each size group. A certain structural regularity was evident at the same time. The petty farms mostly increased their areas, in the middle farms both directions were more or less equal, the largest farms predominantly reduced.

Table 1

Farm size groups in ha	Percentage of farms by size groups as a result of changes in area in 1967–1972	
	smaller	larger
0,5–1	5	19
1–2	8	18
2–3	[illegible]	20
[illegible]	[illegible]	13
5–7	13	15
7–10	13	18
10–15	14	9
15–20	17	10

The above data show that while the small size was a barrier to the development of certain farms, in others the same or approximate area was too large and also made it difficult for the farm to function. Hence the conclusion that the directions of change varied with the other factors of agricultural production, i.e. reserves were disclosed in some which enabled to increase the farm area, while these reserves declined in others. It would indeed be a simplification to identify an enlarged area with strengthening the farm and reduced area with its weakening. But in the long run it is difficult to count on farms which reduced their size. As the experience of other countries indicates, farms of a given minimum size are the condition for the growth of the modern peasant farm, and that minimum has been rising in recent years. Although no fall in economic strength is observable today in the group of farms which reduce their areas, it is known that they will show a weaker dynamic of development in the near future caused by their inability to keep pace with the general rate of development of agriculture. Data are in fact already available showing that farms which reduced their size cannot be counted on. The statements of farmers of that group of their intentions with regards to the production scale, use of credits, investment, increased equipment with machinery, etc. indicate that their dynamic of growth in the coming years will be low and in the field of investment there will be simply stagnation. It may be assumed that there will consequently appear soon economic and production differences unfavourable to farms reducing their areas.

Farms of increased size have undoubtedly the best possibilities of growth. Production per unit of land rises with an increase in size. In a considerable proportion of investigated farms (30 74)[4] output rose two years after their enlargement, partly as a result of increased expenditures on fixed and turnover assets. This attests to these farms' great economic flexibility and refutes the still current propositions that soil productivity falls in measure with increased farm size. Input on mechanization shows particularly strong dynamic among expenditure following the increase in farm area. Farmers defend themselves in this manner from the growing intensity and burden of work resulting from enlarging the farm. And it demonstrates that the tendency to enlarge the size of the farm is accompanied by an equally strong tendency to modernization.

FARM DIFFERENTIATION IN THE SPHERE OF MEANS OF PRODUCTION

Analysis has established that the main element of differentiation in relation to equipment with means of production is the possession or lack of economic buildings. In the investigated sample 18 per cent farms did not possess cattle barns, 32 per cent-pigsties and 25 per cent-barns. That would be understandable if these figures pertained to farms of up to 2 ha. But it turned out that many middle-sized and even larger farms did not have basic economic buildings (Table 2).

Table 2

Farms according to possession, condition and investment in economic buildings

Specification	Area groups in ha					
	0.5–2	2–5	5–7	7–10	10–15	15 and over
	In percentage of investigated farm groups					
Farms possessing:						
cow barns	55.3	85.5	90.1	92.2	95.4	99.4
pig-sties	45.6	55.0	67.4	74.4	79.4	85.1
barns	40.4	78.0	86.7	87.5	91.6	93.5
	In percentage of total buildings in given group					
Farms possessing economic buildings in condition: (according to farmer's assessment)						
good	33.9	36.1	31.7	29.6	31.9	38.4
medial	43.4	43.9	52.0	51.4	52.8	47.9
bad	22.7	20.0	16.3	19.0	15.3	13.7
	Intended investments in 1972–75					
Farms intending to invest percentage	28	45	60		69	
Farm structure according to value of intended investment (in 1000 zlotys):						
to 50	82	65	59		48	
50–100	15	25	25		24	
100 and more	3	10	16		28	
Average value of intended investment per farm (in 1000 zlotys)	30	40	49		70	

Farms showed a particularly strong differentiation with respect to the possession of pigsties. True, some farmers raise pigs in cattle barns, but it is difficult to expect any serious growth of swine production by farms without pigsties. This fact is especially eloquent in face of the particularly urgent tasks of Polish agriculture in the sphere of animal breeding.

Farms possessing economic buildings are strongly differentiated according to their technical state: in 49 per cent of these farms they are in an average state technically, in 34 per cent in a good state and in 18 per cent in a bad state. This differentiation is similar in all size groups. It may hence be assumed that 15–20 per cent of all size groups have limited possibilities of development because of the bad state of their economic buildings.

Analysis of data on the values of economic buildings also disclosed a strong differentiation. There are buildings of varied values in each area group. As it is known, the value of buildings varies with farm size, but the great spread in the values of buildings in farms of the same size is explainable by their varied quality and different degrees of explotation. The spread in each group is almost 3-fold (from close to 60000 to over 200000 zlotys). Most strongly differentiated in this respect are farms of 2–10 ha (which is illustrated by the data below).

Table 3

Farms with economic buildings of value	Size groups in ha		
	2–5	5–7	7–10
	in percentage of investigated farms of the given groups		
average for the given group	29.9	30.1	24.0
considerably below the average	50.9	32.7	48.1
considerably above the average	19.2	37.2	27.9

Farms' capacity for expanded reproduction is strongly dependent on increasing the values of economic buildings. Information on whether and to what degree the investigated farms differ in this respect is provided by data on investment in economic buildings. Farms in the various area groups differed in this sphere in two respects (Table 2):

– investment activity, expressed by the proportion of farms making investments,

– the magnitude of investment outlays.

Investment activity clearly grows with increase in size of the farm (the spread is about 3-fold between the extreme groups), which shows that large farm operators are more interested than small farmers in expanding their agricultural machinery and equipment. The great spread between the different size groups in the magnitude of investment indicates that the possibilities of similar sized farms are highly differentiated. Research findings on farmers' investment intentions show that the future differences between farms will rather grow sharper than weaker primarily because of the great increase in the number of farmers planning large, costly investments.

Farm differentiation in respect of equipment with machinery, basic herd and traction power is very great and is not limited to the rise in the value of means of production per farm in measure with its size.

Table 4

Average value of means of production per farm
(in 1000 zlotys)

Year	Size groups					
	0.5–2	2–5	5–7	7–10	10–15	15 and over
1967	8	30	54	71	92	130
1972	9	37	62	84	115	172

The differentiation in this respect is considerably deeper if farms of the same group differ in respect of the value of their means of production. This discloses the differences in the productive assets of apparently very similar farms. *It is also* very important for purely methodical reasons. Despite the ever more criticized grouping of farms only according to size, other grouping systems are still rarely applied. Average value calculated for the total number of farms of different size groups – owing to the progressing and multi-level farm differentiation – is of ever smaller cognitive value.

The table 5 data show that small farms differ on the low and median levels and large farms – on median and higher levels.

Table 5

Farms according to the value of means of production in 1972[a]

Specification	Farm groups in ha					
	0.5–2	2–5	5–7	7–10	10–15	15 and over
	1972 In percentage of investigated farms					
Farms without means of production and up to						
10 000 zlotys	70.8	17.3	3.3	1.4	0.7	0.4
10 000 – 30 000	22.0	27.2	8.7	3.3	1.5	0.2
30 000 – 50 000	5.0	27.2	23.2	12.1	4.4	0.9
50 000 – 100 000	1.7	26.2	57.3	58.3	45.2	22.3
100 000 – 150 000	0.4	1.6	5.6	18.0	29.5	30.8
150 000 and over	0.1	0.5	1.9	6.9	18.7	45.4

[a] Machines, horses, basic herd jointly

Table 6

	Size groups in ha					
	0.5–2	2–5	5–7	7–10	10–15	15 and over
Farms without means of production and up to 10 000 zlotys worth	94	89	125	109	138	67
With means of production worth:						
10 000 – 30 000	102	78	81	64	72	25
30 000 – 50 000	137	86	66	62	64	50
50 000 – 100 000	271	168	113	88	79	77
100 000 – 150 000	400	328	164	157	110	97
150 000 and over	.	225	467	279	278	195

A comparison of the mean value of means of production in the different size groups with the structure of the investigated farms indicates that in each group (excluding the up to 2 ha group) only 30–60 per cent of the farms reach a median level value of means of production, while the rest essentially deviate upwards or downwards from the mean.

There was a further differentiation during the period of investigation of all groups of farms, but particularly in the larger size groups where the value of means of production grew most.

The 1972 indices of change shape up us follows (1967 = 100):

There is thus a rise in the mean value of means of production per farm and a small increase in the number of farms without any means of production, which indicates a differentiated tendency of farm development.

In relation to the possession of a basic herd we chose cows, since they constitute the most important production stock of peasant farms. The lowest differentiation in this respect is observable in the group of farms up to 2 ha, 90 per cent of which either have no cows or only one. The 2–5 ha groups is slightly differentiated – 90 per cent of these farms possess 1 or 2 cows. In the groups of over 5 ha there is a clear rise in differentiation: while certain groups of farms have none or 1 cow, there are some with an average of 3.4 and more cows. The clear polarization of farms is observable in the investigation period: the growth of the number of farms possessing the least and the highest number of cows. The reverse tendency appears only in the smallest and largest farms. In the up to 2 ha group there was an increase only in the number of farms without cows, whereas the group of largest farms showed an insignificant increase in the number of farms without cows or with 2 and 3 cows. Most recent observation furthermore points to the existence of large breeding reserves in the largest farms. Such reserves are indicated by an analysis of the spread between size groups of the indices of the number of herds of cows per 100 ha. With the mean index in farms of up to 2 ha (60 cows) as 100, the indices for the other groups are:

2–5 ha – 83
5–7 ha – 65
7–10 ha – 55
10–15 ha – 50
15 ha and over – 42

which amounts to hardly 25 cows per 100 ha.

The volume of agricultural machinery and tractors is the component of means of production in which there is now a strong differentiation among the farms. Their number rose rapidly in recent years. But that does not alleviate, it rather sharpens differentiation, since not all farms buy machines and there are great differences among those which increase their machine park. In the investigated five year period there were farms where the value of machinery increased, remained constant or even declined.[5] This attests to differing directions of development of similar size farms. The proportions of these three groups of farms (the increasing, constant and declining values of machines) differ somewhat in each size group. In the group of up to 2 ha dominate farms without any change (about 80 per cent), but it must be borne in mind that the farms of this group do not possess machines. In the other size divisions there is a considerable decline in the "constant" group (from 45 per cent in the 2–5 ha division to 25 per cent in the largest farms); while farms which increased the value of their machines constitute the biggest group. The share of these farms rises, in measure with their size. Another indicator of farm differentiation is the magnitude of expenditures on the purchase of machinery and tractors during 1967–1972. This magnitude oscillates between close to 10000 zlotys and more than 50000 zlotys. Differentiation in this respect intensifies with the rise in farm size. Objective and subjective factors contribute to this phenomenon, but an analysis focussed on farms of approximately similar size eliminates the influence of the basic factor limiting the application of machines, namely, the size of the farms.

To illustrate the problem we divide farms into three groups roughly corresponding to their classification according to a) farms without machinery, b) poorly equipped, and c) better equipped with machinery (Table 7). This division established that the 2–10 ha group is most differentiated, the group of over 10 ha farms (88–94 per cent of the better equipped farms) and the group of smallest farms not possessing machinery (91 per cent of farms) are more uniform.

The small differentiation in this respect of the largest farms is rather more apparent than real. For the possesion of a tractor strongly differentiates these farms and judging from the farmers declared intentions, may be expected to do so also in the future (Table 7).

The distinction of larger farms into possessors and nonpossessors of tractors is not limited only to the fact that the value of means of production and of the other structure of traction power is higher in farms with tractors.[6] For the purchase of a tractor is only preliminary to the many-sided change in the farms' economy, which effects considerably better than average production results in a short time. An investigation of 705 farms with tractors (70 per cent of which were above 10 ha) established that:

– purchase of a tractor induces a greater demand for land and definitely weakens the tendency to reduce the size of farms;

– a tractor is a strong incentive to further modernization of the farm, which is expressed in heightened investment. In the wake of the tractor appear a number of modern machines which greatly lighten human labour;

– a farm over 10 ha with tractors could obtain a net unit output greater by 20 per cent and a marketable crop higher by 23 per cent than the generality of farms in that group. Their higher marketable output is associated primarily with the twice as rapid reduction in the number of horses;

– the effect of these farms' higher output with a somewhat lower

Table 7

Farms according to equipment with machinery
(in percentage of investigated groups)

Specification	Area groups in ha					
	0.5 – 2	2 – 5	5 – 7	7 – 10	10 – 15	15 and over
1967 – 1972						
Farms with:						
increased value of machines	17.3	45.3	52.8	52.7	53.6	64.4
reduced value of machines	4.6	9.9	13.8	14.4	13.4	10.8
Farms which:						
did not invest in machinery	88.5	50.4	31.6	21.9	15.6	10.0
invested up to 10 000 zlotys	8.4	28.2	37.2	41.2	38.7	25.7
10 000 – 20 000	1.5	15.1	21.8	20.1	19.6	18.2
20 000 – 50 000	1.3	5.3	7.9	11.2	15.2	17.1
50 000 and more	0.3	0.9	1.5	5.5	10.9	29.0
Farm structure according to the level of equipment with machinery (in 1972)						
Percentage of farms:						
without machines and horses	91.2	41.5	10.1	4.3	1.4	0.5
poorly equipped	5.4	33.8	33.5	20.5	10.8	5.3
better equipped with machines	3.4	24.7	56.4	75.2	87.8	94.2
Percentage of farms with tractors						
in 1967	0.3	0.7	0.8	2.9	4.2	12.8
in 1972	1.5	2.3	2.3	8.5	16.5	36.8
in 1975 (estimate)	2.2	5.2	6.7	18.2	34.8	62.0

than average labour input is that productivity, measured by the value of production per person occupied on the farm, was 30 per cent higher than in the others.

The above demonstrates that possession of a tractor has been and will be on an ever broader scale the basis of a qualitatively greater differentiation primarily among larger farms.

Differentiation with respect to machinery effects a considerable divergence among farms in the degree of mechanization of the main agricultural labour tasks. This takes place despite the widespread services of the agricultural circles which have been considered in the calculation of the mechanization index. In spite of these services, there are farms of a very low mechanization level in all size groups (excluding for understandable reasons the up to 2 ha group) (to 30 per cent) as well as farms more than 70 per cent mechanized (Table 8). A comparison of the index of operations carried out by tractors showed still greater differences between similar sized farms. It turned out that there are farms in each size group in which less than 10 per cent of the work in economic year 1971/72 was done by tractor alongside those where half or even 70 per cent of operations was done by a tractor (Table 8).

Table 8

Farms according to the degree of mechanization
(in percentage of the investigated groups)

Specification	Area groups in ha				
	2 – 5	5 – 7	7 – 10	10 – 15	15 and over
Average proportion of work done by machine					
up to 30	27.5	14.1	5.2	1.8	1.0
30 – 50 per cent	33.6	40.4	36.9	31.9	21.6
50 – 70 per cent	24.3	32.1	36.9	39.5	36.0
70 per cent and more	14.6	13.4	21.0	26.8	41.4
Average proportion of work done by tractor					
up to 10 per cent	20.0	14.5	5.7	2.8	1.2
10 – 30 per cent	37.8	43.3	43.3	43.3	32.0
30 – 50 per cent	20.9	24.6	26.6	25.8	24.7
50 – 70 per cent	14.6	13.1	15.4	16.8	20.2
70 per cent and more	6.7	4.5	8.9	11.3	21.9

The degree of technization of farm operations exerts a decisive influence on their productivity. The grouping of farms according to that characteristic by different size classes also confirms the proposition of strong differentiation. The spread in output value per one day's labour is from less than 40 to over 200 zlotys in all size groups.[8] Productivity of labour is very low in the up to 2 ha group, in which 43 per cent of farms do not reach the average productivity (45 zlotys per day) and only 21 per cent exceed the average.

The 2 – 5 ha group is strongly differentiated in this respect, except that only 10 per cent of farms produce below the average and 52 per cent above. The 5 – 10 ha group showed the greatest divergencies in this respect, the output of only 10 per cent of the farms below average and 52 per cent – above average. The greatest divergencies are in the 5 – 10 ha group in which 54 per cent attained above the average productivity and 20 per cent considerably lower. The differentiation is also very marked in the biggest farms: 52 per cent of these farms attain the highest level of labour productivity, 49 per cent – lower than the average level and 19 per cent – a very low level, e.g. twice as low as the mean.

DIFFERENTIATION OF PEASANT FARMS ACCORDING TO MANPOWER

Farm differentiation is particularly sharp in the sphere of manpower. The demand for labour power outside agriculture, opportunities for attractive occupations increase migration from agriculture and creates a manpower shortage on many farms. The intensified permanent and fluctuating migration causes the loss of the most valuable asset, the young and better educated manpower. As a consequence some farms grow weaker, even collapse, others prosper normally, while still others grow stronger in general not so much because of greater manpower as due to its quality and better technical equipment. For it must be noted that farm differantiation in respect of labour power is not reducible to quantitative differences alone. A strong factor differentiating peasant farms with quantitatively similar manpower reserves is their quality, in other words, the farm's demographic and professional structure.

Another differentiating factor is the manpower's technical equipment and the organization of the labour process associated with it. The effect of different levels of the two factors is highly varied productivity of farms of the same size and with similar quantities of manpower. There is a strong relation between the stock and productivity of manpower and the agrarian structure. The simplest expression of this relation is the considerable divergence between small and larger farms (from 1 to 8 ha) in the amount of land per employée which is one cause of differences in productivity. In relation to output per employée, the only way to equalize it between smaller and larger farms is to increase production on each unit of area on the smaller farms. For, as it is known, there is a limit to increasing production on 1 ha and possibilities in this respect are especially limited on universal, non-specialized farms which greatly predominate in Poland. The possibilities are limited in this connection of obtaining on small farms a social labour productivity on the level of larger farms. A small sized farm (often associated with an inconvenient terrain) is furthermore an insurmountable obstacle in the sphere of mechanization of labour which makes it impossible to attain a higher technical productivity. Even available cheap mechanizing services do not help much, since the range of operations possible to mechanize is rather small and is limited to less arduous vegetable production on small farms.

Polish agriculture is entering a stage of development in which increased productivity of labour will be of no lesser importance than the rise of productivity per hectare. For the continuous and rapid growth of production – agriculture's basic task will be accompanied by the spontaneous drop in employment, which as prognosis indicates – will have rising tendencies in the near future. The ever better utilization of the entire production potential, including the manpower in particular, will be indispensable in this situation. What then is the situation with labour power in peasant farming? Are there any reserves and what is the outllook for their utilization?

The most characteristic current feature of farm differentiation according to manpower is the absolute and relative decline in the number of farms with considerable manpower reserves and the growth in the number of farms with small and very small reserves of labour power in relation to the cultivated area. But that does not imply a universal shortage of manpower in peasant agriculture. The manpower deficit pertains only to certain groups of farms, while the others enjoy a relative surplus.

Table 9

Size groups	Percentage of farms on which work		
	1 person	2 people	3 or more
0.5– 2 ha	48.1	45.3	6.6
2– 5 „	21.2	55.6	23.2
5–10 „	8.9	52.6	38.5
10 ha and over	4.8	44.5	50.7

The data of the 1970 general national census disclose the above state of affairs.

The general balance sheet of employment per area unit in peasant farming in Poland (of 4.3 million gainfully employed on 15.5 mil. ha) shows an average of 3.5 ha per employed person. An estimate based on the above census data established that the number of hectares per worker is lower than the average in 5 per cent of the farms, more or less average in 35 per cent and that more hectares than the mean in the country fall to one person in 35 per cent of the farms. This means that less than 3.5. ha fall to one person engaged in agriculture on every second farm in Poland. These are precisely farms with a manpower reserve. But it is very difficult to set these reserves in motion, since:

1. that requires a radical improvement of the agrarian structure;

1. it is necessary to reckon with the indivisibility of manpower, a characteristic so typical of peasant farming;

3. the structure of the labour power engaged in peasant agriculture is unprofitable and is systematically growing worse. This is expressed in such processes as aging of the farmers, growing feminization of farm work and part-time farming.

Farms suffering from a shortage of manpower constitute the other pole of differentiation. That group is estimated at 15–25 per cent of the farm total. About $^{2}/_{3}$ of these farms are without heirs. This problem is resolved by the Polish government through the system of exchanging land for retirement pensions. Initiated in 1968, this system consists in the fact that the farmer without heirs turns over his land to the state in exchange for a retirement pension. From year to year ever more farmers have taken advantage of this opportunity: in 1974 more than 20000 farmers without heirs consigned their land to the government for pensions. Besides its social importance, the law on farmers' pensions has acted as a stimulant for improvement of the agrarian structure.

More important data on individual farms whi
(prepared on the basis of

Specification	Unit	1957/58	1958/59	1959/60	1960/61	1961/62
Average farm size	ha	6.20	6.27	6.20	6.34	6.37
of which arable	ha	5.60	5.70	5.63	5.74	5.75
Aver. persons in family	person	4.35	4.44	4.36	4.40	4.39
Aver. working days on farm	a day's work	553.00	544.00	517.00	504.00	508.00
of which-hired	a day's work	21.00	188.00	15.00	15.00	17.00
Harvest of 4 staple grains*	q/ha	17.90	16.70	18.30	17.40	18.60
potatoes*	q/ha	158.00	151.00	149.00	144.00	168.00
Cattle	pieces per 100 ha u. r.	63.00	62.00	66.00	67.00	71.00
of which-cows	„	42.00	42.00	42.00	40.00	41.00
Swine	„	97.00	82.00	95.00	97.00	98.00
of which-sows	„	11.00	10.00	12.00	11.0	12.00
Sheep	„	32.00	26.00	25.00	24.00	22.00
Horses	„	19.00	21.00	20.00	19.00	18.00
Yearly cow milking	l	2215.00	2215.00	2305.00	2325.00	2373.00

* Average harvest in 1948 (q/ha): wheat 11.7; rye 12.4; barley 11.7 oats 13.7; potatoes 108; sugar beets 189.

Appendix 1

farms which conducted agricultural acconunting (IER) in 1957/58 1972/73
e basis of *Rocznik Statystyczny*, GUS, for 1958 1974)

1961/62	1962/63	1963/64	1964/65	1965/66	1966/67	1967/68	1968/69	1969/70	1970/71
6.37	6.36	6.36	6.34	6.34	6.33	6.37	6.42	6.40	6.40
5.75	5.75	5.78	5.76	5.77	5.76	5.80	5.84	5.83	5.82
4.39	4.34	4.34	4.29	4.22	4.18	4.07	3.98	4.01	4.05
508.00	494.00	485.00	481.00	487.00	477.00	466.00	466.00	457.00	464.00
17.00	16.00	16.00	17.00	26.00	23.00	23.00	16.00	23.00	14.00
18.60	16.80	18.40	17.00	19.30	18.70	18.60	20.80	21.10	19.40
168.00	142.00	170.00	181.00	168.00	175.00	185.00	190.00	175.00	186.00
71.00	71.50	70.00	69.80	72.60	74.70	74.00	73.30	72.00	73.00
41.00	41.70	41.00	40.10	40.00	39.90	40.70	40.40	41.00	40.00
98.00	78.60	94.00	99.00	104.90	105.20	101.20	97.40	93.50	108.00
12.00	9.20	12.00	12.30	12.30	12.20	11.70	11.40	10.80	13.00
22.00	19.30	20.00	20.00	21.10	22.90	22.70	20.90	19.70	19.00
18.00	17.70	18.00	17.90	17.80	18.10	18.40	18.70	18.70	18.00
2373.00	2345.00	2364.00	2427.00	2653.00	2660.00	2661.00	2737.00	2736.00	2846.00

1969/70	1970/71	1971/72	1972/73
6.40	6.40	6.47	6.81
5.83	5.82	5.90	6.17
4.01	4.05	4.00	4.03
457.00	464.00	479.00	471.00
23.00	14.00	21.00	23.00
21.10	19.40	23.10	23.20
175.00	186.00	173.00	194.00
72.00	73.00	73.00	76.00
41.00	40.00	39.00	40.00
93.50	108.00	123.00	136.00
10.80	13.00	13.00	15.00
19.70	19.00	20.00	17.00
18.70	18.00	17.00	17.00
2736.00	2846.00	2878.00	2997.00

Average net output value per farm in 1000 zlotys: 108.90 of which-
vegetable 33.30
animal 75.60

* *
*

Several more general reflections suggest themselves in the considerations of the various factors of agricultural production influencing farm differentiation.

The country's constantly growing food requirements make the maintenance of a high tempo of agricultural production the principal task of agrarian policy. A condition for this is the most rational husbanding of all the forces and resources on which increased output depends. The changes transpiring in peasant farming which pertain to the factors of production (and inputs in these factors) are nothing else but expressions of the desire to attain their optimal relations – from the viewpoint of the concrete situation of the farmstead. This is hence a tendency on the micro-scale to rationalize the farm's assets in order to attain the maximum effect. Such processes predominate in peasant farming and their further course will determine the rate of growth of agricultural production. The processes of converting the farm into a garden plot, regression, tottering on the brink of collapse, serious weakening or simply ceasing production – all this applies to a small group of farms, which anyway do not determine the productive capacity of peasant farming as a whole.

In this situation the task of policy is to support and facilitate the healthy and rational adaptation processes and to neutralize the effects of the weakening and deterioration of some of the farms. In land policy this is expressed in stimulating the shift of land from farms unable to cultivate it to those unable to fully exploit their production potential because of the lack of adequate. land. It is no less important to create possibilities for farm modernization and mechanization of the production processes by making it easier for farmers to purchase means of production and by improving the quality of services.

An agrarian policy of active support of the adaptation processes taking place in peasant farming directly influences the husbanding of human resources. For only modernized agriculture, income parity and conspicuous improvement of rural living conditions can regulate the efflux of manpower from the villages, in the sense that the exodus did not weaken the farms to any serious extent. That would also create possibilities to alleviate the results of the so-called negative selection.

DIFFERENTIATED PRODUCTION EFFECTS

The great differentiation of farms in respect of the relations between the factors of production is reflected in output. Net output value is used here to illustrate this. A classification[9] of farms according to output value was made in each size group, distinguishing three categories of farms: leading, average and weakest. Farms of each size group showed a strong internal differentiation (Table 10). Farms of very small areas were the most uniform: in the up to 2 division only 45 per cent in the 2–5 ha 60 per cent and in the other size groups between 66 – 68 per cent attain average output. Leading

Table 10

Farm differentiation in respect of production results[a] (1972 data)

Specification	Area groups in ha					
	0.5–2	2–5	5–7	7–10	10–15	15 and over
Percentage of investigated farms with results:						
best	22.6	18.6	16.8	14.3	15.7	16.3
average	45.2	59.8	66.2	67.9	68.0	67.6
poorest	32.2	21.6	17.0	17.8	16.3	16.1
Indices of output value per farm (mean group as 100)						
in the best group	167	148	146	149	123	138
in the poorest group	54	57	54	53	52	57
Indices of output value per ha (median group as 100)						
in the best group	197	162	152	153	145	146
in the poorest group	52	55	52	54	52	55

[a] 11,781 farms were investigated

farms show a fairly equal percentage in the various size groups, with a slight but definite declining tendency in measure with the increase in farm size (from 23 to 16 per cent). Notable in this respect is the 7–10 ha group in which only 14 per cent of farms were classified among the best.

Among the different size groups the weakest farms, of which the up to 2 ha group constitutes 32 per cent and the over 15 ha group half as much, are proportionally most strongly differentiated. Hence the tendency to a drop in the percentage of weakest farms in measure with the increase in size appears more clearly than the same tendency in reference to the best farms.

Expressed in output value, the extent of differentiation is still greater. The best farms obtain a 3 times greater output value than the weakest farms and as compared with the average value in the group (= 100), the devation in both extreme groups amounts to 40–50 points. If compared to the output value per ha, the divergence is still greater. Most differentiated is output value in the group of up to 2 ha farms and the divergence is smaller between larger farms. The production structure (division into vegetable and animal) in the extreme groups (the best and weakest farms) revealed that the different degrees of development of animal breeding exerted the strongest influence on such differentiated production results. The weakest farms were those with underdeveloped animal breeding. An essential cause of this state of affairs is the manpower situation. For it turned out that of the weakest farms 50 per cent those with up to 5 ha and 35–40 per cent of the above 5 ha group were exclusively operated by persons of the post-productive age. The inadequacy of labour power is thus an important, though not the only cause of their lower than average output.

As it is known, in agriculture the results of one year do not justify general conclusions. A much more essential and convincing way to assess the situation, which even provides a basis for hypotheses regarding the future trend of peasant farming, is observation over long periods. This is why we also present the findings of research on farm differentiation in respect of the dynamics of production in 2 five year periods.

That research established that the differences between farms are not reducible to varied rates of growth of production, but that they go much deeper. While some farms during the same period attain a very high production dynamics, the others show a weaker tempo and still others face stagnation or even a decline in output value[10]. All these 4 categories of farms appeared in each region of the country investigated, in every size group and during both research periods (Table 11). It may hence be concluded that differentiation in this sphere is of a general character and relatively constant phenomenon.

The fact that the group of developing farms is the most numerous on the regional, structural or time cross-section is particularly important. There are more of them among the larger than among the smaller farms. There is a growing proportion of these farms in regions of a low agricultural level (central-eastern and north-eastern) and they are declining in regions of highly developed agriculture. This indicates that the further growth of production in the latter regions is confronted with the obstacles and limitations associated with peasant farming. The structural shift between highly and weakly developed farms in favour the latter should also be regarded as an unfavourable phenomenon.

The growing difficulties with expanded or even simple reproduction are attested also by the tendency taking shape at the opposite pole, i.e., in farms with a declining output value. True, this is a very small group, but it has been growing in number in the last 5 years in almost all regions among big and small farms. A detailed retrospective investigation in 1972 of all farms of this group shows that 80 per cent of them fell into a state of economic weakness between 1967 and 1972 which is a clear sign of a rapid tempo of differentiation. The vast majority of farm operators here are old single people, oftern single women, incomplete families, etc. The future of the marginal group, or at least its main part, is certain: they will be liquidated. Their land will either be absorbed by the peasant sector (turned over to the family, sold, rented) or taken over by the state in return for retirement pensions.

The role of the state in taking over peasant land has grown recently. In areas where the demand for land is low the state takes over most

Table 11

Farm differentiation in relation to trends of change in output value

Specification	Central-western	Central-eastern	South western	North western	Northern	North eastern
1962 – 1967 the 3 – 7 ha group						
Percentage of total developing farms	52	50	59	61	70	48
of which:						
strongly	28	28	43	41	48	41
weakly	24	22	16	20	22	7
stagnating	41	40	36	31	26	45
clearly weakening	7	10	5	8	4	7
the 7 ha and over group						
Percentage of total developing farms	64	64	58	56	76	61
of which:						
strongly	39	46	34	38	53	40
weakly	25	18	24	18	23	21
stagnating	33	31	37	37	20	28
clearly weakening	3	5	5	7	4	11
Period 1967 – 1972 the 3 – 7 ha group						
Percentage of total developing farms	45	57	39	69	54	58
of which:						
strongly	28	36	20	48	37	27
weakly	17	21	19	21	17	31
stagnating	44	34	42	25	38	34
clearly weakening	11	9	19	6	8	8
the 7 ha and over group						
Percentage of total developing farms	49	59	43	65	56	65
of which:						
strongly	24	37	26	45	35	48
weakly	25	22	17	20	21	17
stagnating	46	32	47	29	36	30
clearly weakening	5	9	10	6	8	5

of alienated land. But aged farmers without heirs have been applying to exchange their land for pensions also in areas of fragmented agriculture where the demand for land is relatively high. The most frequent motive for this is the financial independance afforded by pensions. An indication of the popularity of the land-pension system is the fact that 3 times as many farms were taken over in this manner last year than in previous years.

We would like to call the reader's attention to the group of farmers defined here as "stagnating". This group occupies a considerable place in the farm total, and moreover with few exceptions has recently shown a tendency to grow both among smaller and larger farms. These farms do not show the characteristics at present of economic weakening, but some of them are now or soon will be on its brink. Therefore if possibilities are created for solution of the problem of the weakest (or bankrupt) farms, action is all the more necessary in relation to the stagnating group. Its future cannot be anticipated as definitely as that of the former groups. This is indicated first of all by the size of the group, as by its demographic structure, equipment, etc. which correspond with those of the generality of farms. It may be that these farms have worse natural conditions (this question has not been investigated), but the prevailing situation demands first of all increased output from every hectare of better of worse land; secondly, the rational, intensive husbanding of poorer soil enables to raise its yield considerably.

In some of the farms the submarginal situation may be temporary, due to casual difficulties, calamities, changes in the family, etc. In such cases, prophylactic measures or aid must be of an individualized character on the basis of the farm's most urgent concrete needs. The matter is different when stagnation is a constant characteristic (our research indicates that that state has lasted for 10 years in roughly every third farm of the category in question). It is then necessary to seek other ways out, which would consist, among others, in seeking out modern forms of farming which would enable the farmers to introduce rapid changes in the scale and intensity of production and in the rate of agricultural progress. It may consist of crop specialization, cooperation with socialized agricultural enterprises (a kind of vertical integration) or joining a farmers' collective, an Agricultural Circle Cooperative or cooperative farm.

FARM DIFFERENTIATION IN RESPECT OF CASH INCOME AND LEVEL OF LIFE

Cash income is a very strong factor of differentiation among farms. This differentiation exists among farms of various areas and within the same size groups.

The first type of such differentiation is expressed in the varied average income level. The spread in this sphere between the group of smallest and the group of largest farms is almost fourfold in relation to average income per family and almost threefold in per capita income.

Data on the differentiation in the level of cash income within the various size groups are no less readable. There are farms in each group with low, medial and high cash incomes and the differences between them are reducible to the varied relations between the three income levels. The strongest differentiation appears in the 5–10 ha farms, while both extreme groups (the smallest and largest) show greater uniformity – except that low income predominates in the group of small farms and high income in the big farm group.

The magnitude of cash income is not the only manifestation of farm differentiation in this sphere. A very essential differentiating element here is the source of the income. Only every third family cultivating the soil maintains itself exclusively from agriculture, 60 per cent live from agriculture and outside gainful employment[11] and more than 6 per cent of farm families maintain themselves from income from agriculture and non-income earning sources (primarily retirement and invalidity pensions). It is characteristic that 30 per cent of the farms in the larger size group have two sources of cash income; but it must be noted that off the farm earnings play a minimal role in these groups' total income. It is otherwise with the groups of small farms where outside earnings greatly influence the magnitude of total cash income (Table 12).

Table 12

Differentiation in respect of cash income

Specification	Area groups in ha					
	0.5–2	2–5	5–7	7–10	10–15	15 and over
Index of income level:						
per family	100	122	153	190	259	388
per capita	100	108	134	156	197	274
Percentage of farms with income per family						
low	56.8	41.6	26.9	14.8	5.8	2.5
medium	36.8	47.8	49.4	45.1	28.8	11.5
high	6.4	10.6	23.7	20.1	65.4	86.0
Income structure in percentages						
Proportion of income:						
from agriculture	30.5	59.2	77.3	85.9	91.7	96.2
from off the farm earnings	60.2	37.1	21.4	13.4	7.9	3.5
from non-income earning sources	9.1	3.7	1.3	0.7	0.4	0.3
Farms according to source of income in percentage						
Farms with income from:						
agriculture	9.3	24.6	40.5	51.2	58.5	71.4
agriculture and outside earnings	78.3	70.1	56.0	46.1	38.1	24.7
agriculture & non-income earning sources	12.4	5.3	3.5	2.7	3.4	3.9

A dynamic growth has been recorded in recent years in the number of farm families which maintain themselves from agriculture and ouside gainful employment. This is due primarily to the growth of off the farm employment of young people (in 1952–1957, a period of the demographic rise of persons of productive age of many age groups). Furthermore, the growth of mechanization of peasant farms raised labour productivity and increased the area on which the family could combine farming with work off the farm in the summer. Another driving force of that process is the lower productivity of labour in agriculture than in industry and the consequent lower income on the farm.

A few considerations, in conclusion, of farm differentiation in the sphere of the lovel of life[12]. The research established that families with the largest farms (of over 10 ha and especially over 15 ha) enjoyed the highest living standards (Table 13). That table shows that differentiation here is clear, but what is significant is the dominance of families (50–61 per cent) with higher and the highest living standards. Moreover, only 10–14 per cent of families live on the lowest level. The 7–10 ha and the 0.5–2 ha groups are more differentiated than the others; but the largest proportion here too are families with the highest standards (42–44 per cent). The fact that every fifth family in these groups is reckoned in the lowest level indicates stronger differentiation.

Table 13

Farms according to the family level of life

Specification	Area groups in ha					
	0.2–5	2–5	5–7	7–10	10–15	15 and over
Family level in percentage low	27.3	32.5	29.4	21.4	14.0	10.4
medium	28.3	34.1	39.6	36.7	36.3	28.4
high	32.5	26.8	25.5	34.7	38.0	42.8
highest	11.9	6.6	5.5	7.2	11.7	18.4

In the other group (2–7 ha) the differences are more considerable: one-third of the families are on the lowest level, the next third on the medial and another third is on the higher and highest level of living. This means that their cash income (although supplemented by outside earnings in almost one-third of these farms) rules out good living standards presumably at the expense of expenditures on the farm. It may be concluded that with the present level of production intensity only farms of over 10 ha are in a position to increase output to the extent necessary to assure adequate living standards for the family and at the same time to cover outlays required by extended reproduction.

REFERENCE NOTES

1. In 1970 – 1974 the rate of growth of agricultural production stood at 3 per cent.
2. Of 2 900 000 farms above 0.5 ha 26 per cent were small farms up to 2 ha. Of 2 137 000 farms above 2 ha 49 per cent had areas of 2 – 5 ha, 19 per cent 5 – 7 ha, 22 per cent – 7 – 10 ha and 20 per cent – above 10 ha.
3. The present work uses the findings of a questionnaire poll of a representative sample of 12 000 farms investigated by the Institute every 5 years.
4. Farms were investigated which increased their area by at lest 25 per cent of the original size.
5. The research did not consider the degree of wear and tear of machinery, which is why the reduction of the value of machinery is basically equivalent to a decline in the machine park possessed.
6. The degree of mechanization of traction power amounted to 31 per cent in the total farms investigated and to 84 per cent, in farms with tractors.
7. More than 90 per cent of peasant farms in Poland utilize the mechanization services of the Agricultural Circles.
8. In current 1971/72 prices.
9. Farms were classified in the following manner. As farms deviating essentially from average value were regarded those attained at least 30 per cent, more than the average output value in the given area group. Farms were selected in that way separately in each village. Farm classification was hence made the microscale (the village) with the assumption that all farms in the village have uniform natural conditions. Two extreme groups in respect to the existing differentiation were distinguished in that manner, namely: the group of best farms (+ 30 per cent and more) and the worst (– 30 per cent and less). All the other farms, those whose output deviated from the average value by a maximum of + 29 to – 29 per cent were reckoned in the basic and most numerous groups of farms of average production results.
10. The output value was reckoned for that purpose in comparative prices. Investigation of that dynamic embraced more than 3000 farms representative of $^2/_3$ of the area of the whole of Poland. The research was limited to farms which did not change their areas during both 5-year periods of investigation.
11. Omitting plots up to 0.5 ha.
12. The equipment of farm households with facilities and durable goods was the basis of family classification according to the level of living.

LILI MARIA SZWENGRUB

COLLECTIVE FARMING IN POLAND

Bogusław Gałęski wrote in 1960: "The members of collective farms constitute a distinct group within peasantry. Although now a small group, it is worthy of attention. The historical trend of development in agriculture and the Agricultural Circle movement developing in the country which is introducing elements of collective property and labour on individual peasant farms, indicate that the group of collective farmers represent the future of the peasantry. This is why that group, although small, occupies an important place in the rural social structure"[1].

About 15 years have passed and those words have lost none of their actuality. Only the reference to the Agricultural Circles requires slight modification and compels consideration. According to the *Statistical Yearbook*, the number of collective farms declined by $^1/_3$ during those years. But that is not the most important thing. For it is known that in 1960–1964 it is primarily the so-called "peasant" cooperatives that crumbled. The favourable situation for individual farming created in 1959 by the Agricultural Development Fund and the Agricultural Circle movement determined the dissolution of many collective farms. This applies to all whose members remained only out of economic necessity during the time individual farmers were restrained from forming cooperatives. Many were dissolved then, more than one-third. The *Statistical Yearbook* operates with balances; it does not show the movement, namely, the liquidation of old and emergence of new collective farms. This means that the difference between the 1668 collective farms in 1960 and the 1051 in 1973 is accounted for by both liquidated (y) and newly organized ones (x). In other words, only $1668 + x - y = 1051$. It is of course possible to fix the magnitudes of x and y, but it is difficult to do so with accuracy.

Most important is the fact that group of cooperative farmers and the number of collective farms are still small and that the movement towards collective labour continues to develop very slowly. To establish the cause of weakness of collective farming means to solve the problem involved which is worth sociological analysis.

Whatever we would say about the social problems of development of collective farming without pinpointing the cause of the existing state of affairs would be the same as a doctor curing a disease without identifying it or knowing its cause. Because of space limitation of the present paper, we examine only the place of the collective farm, as community, in Poland's rural structure.

There is a small group of people in one village out of 40, whom we collectively define as a new stratum in Poland's socio-occupational rural structure. The collective farms are small: 50 per cent of them have less than 15 famillies each. On the average there are roughly 29 families per farm. In average size they do not exceed 300 ha. About $^{1}/_{3}$ of the collective farms are situated in villages inhabited by 0–30 families, besides the cooperative farmers, and $^{1}/_{4}$ in villages of 100 to over 500 families. While there is a slight possibility of exerting influence in the former because of the lack of objects of influence and institutions in such small villages; in the large villages the small collective farms are lost among the multiplicity of institutions and large number of individual farms. The close to half of the total collective farms situated in the medium sized villages have real possibilities to participate in village life. Although it is not easy.

For many years agrarian policy distinguished (and to a great extent still does) three sectors of agriculture: cooperative, state and private. It strictly watched in order that each sector should be governed by different

The effect of that policy was a shift of certain social and cultural barriers between people from the farmer-worker, owner-hired labourer basis to the basis of sector affiliation. Elimination of collective farmers' social isolation was checked as a result. This pertains also to the state farm community. Thus the result of twenty old years of the tri-sector principle of agricultural organization are: socially, administratively and economically determined three different types of rural local communities.[1]

How deep-going that 3-member division is, it is best attested by the 1972 Ministry of Agriculture proclamation on cooperation by the three sectors[2].

It is not the fault of the collective farms that they are governed by their own laws, which come from outside and deepen the old distinctions on the basis of other motivations. The old cooperatives originated from class and cultural differences. As the primary and basic traits of the new ones should be reckoned the new forms of farm organization and management represented by collective farming. All others derive from the first. The new cooperative form has its distinct administrative-organizational structure and stipulated privileges and obligations realized within its own sphere, outside the village and the hamlet. They have their own supply and delivery, different tax regulations, other social benefits, their own services and access to schools and culture.

All that cannot but have its social effects. The collective farms as if closed themselves up to the village. They do not need the village. For one may obtain seed, buy or sell suckling pigs or calves at the cooperative. It may also be a good customer for vegetables and fruit. Contacts are then established, so-called economic contacts. But the social barier is not broken. The cooperators' good farms, high output and income do not help the individual farmers forget some of them once worked on the nearby estate and that their pots were empty before harvests. Their past lineage tended to overshadow in the eyes of the individual farmers the fact that their collective farm neighbours had newly built houses today, homes with modern conveniences, furniture with a "high polish" and several thousand zlotys in the bank.

It may be assumed that the situation will change in a few years. A new generation is entering production for whom the parents' differentiation according to origin is alien and not understandable. But that is not enough. Inter-sector differences are not disappearing, for they seem entirely normal to the young people accustomed to inter-sector distinctions. These differences though, should not be maintained or deepened. On the contrary, they ought to be eliminated, for the problem is not to have three different villages in Poland but to promote the socialist reconstruction of the rural areas.

The socialist reconstruction of the village does not mean simply the establishment of collective and state farms, but of large farms enabling to apply technical progress, to maximize production and to ensure the people employed in agriculture living conditions corresponding to the best in obtaining in socialist industry. That would ensure similar conditions for the entire rural population. For to effect such a change requires a programme of social activity which besides ensuring the material base, would embrace the needs of all rural inhabitants. That also would involve organizational, professional and political bases which would guarantee such an important and essential goal.

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According to the data of December 31, 1973 data, cooperative farmers constituted a group of 30 000 families associated in 1094 collective farms. The average farm area amounted to 289 ha and the average number of families per collective farm to 28.9. Cooperative farmers constituted about 1 per cent of the total employed.

The cooperative farmers are a new socio-occupational group which has been taking shape in the Polish countryside over the last 25 years. It is a small group (contrary to the situation in the German Democratic Republic where it is referred to, not as a group but as a new social class) of a still uncrystallized social prestige and not very popular in the society which should be attributed to the fact that collective farming has not yet won adequate recognition in the society. The lack of success of many cooperative farms in 1949 - 1956 left a negative attitude to agricultural collectivization among town and country people. While the recent achievements of the collective farms in improved working and living conditions tended to reach only their nearest neighbours.

The majority of cooperative farmers orginate from the socio-occupational category of the rural proletariat which enjoyed low social prestige and often suffered discrimination. Their families' poverty prevented their children from even finishing elementary school, made it difficult to learn a trade and to advance socially and occupationally. The structural and economic changes effected by the Polish Peoples Republic, and concretely the organization of collective farms, created possibilities for today's cooperators of a start in life and social advance. High earnings from their own labour, newly built and well furnished houses, good quality dresses are signs that collective farm members have attained an essential improvement of their living conditions. They are concerned for their children and try to assure them a better start in life than their own. They are friendly and intimate with each other. Each collective farm is basically one large family. They celebrate together annual, national and institutional holidays and the more important family celebrations. They go on excursions, make vacation trips and send their children to so-called summer and winter camps. They have regular county, provincial and national conferences. They have many cooperative-production contacts with county seats, provincial centres and with Warsaw but their contacts with the villages in which the collective farms are located are not as developed.

City and country inhabitants assess the cooperative farmers' socio-occupational situation to a great degree in relation to the place occupied by the collective farms in the rural structure at the starting point and they regard collective farming as one of the roads to agricultural reconstruction. This is borne out by the social rank of the cooperative farmer in the Polish Peoples Republic in comparison with the German Democratic Republic.

All the above information, presented here in a highly condensed form, are partly taken from the reports of collective farms, but are mostly the findings of the present author's ten years research on selected problems of collective farming. The research was conducted in various communities at different times and with varied methods. The findings were partly published in the "Roczniki Socjologii Wsi" (Annals of Rural Sociology)[3]. Without discussing here the research itself, we only indicate that the theme of the present paper is only partly embraced in the current of our main interests, namely, the place of cooperative farmers in Poland's rural socio-occupational structure.

Their living conditions are of much lesser interest (and we dispose of much less material on this subject). But that is not the only reason for the emphasis on the question of the place occupied by cooperative farmers in the prestige hierarchy of the rural structure.

COLLECTIVE FARM MEMBERS' SOCIO-OCCUPATIONAL SITUATION

It may be said laconically that the memebers of collective farms are doing well. Income per family amounted in 1973 to 55117 zlotys and per employée – to 33582 zlotys[4]. In general, as indicated by field research, to cash income should be added income from kitchen gardens which basically cover the family's food needs and all daily expenditures. That they are well off is also indicated by the way they dress, the number of new homes and their furnishing. While there is a lack of complete figures on housing, data of the Central Union of Collective Farmers show that the cooperatives helped build 2379 apartments – 404 in 1971. These figures pertain only to new buildings, without considering those built by collective farm members themselves. And while there are no figures for the latter, it is well known that cooperative farmers build a lot, and on the whole live in new, comfortable houses.

The living standards of cooperative farmers are high and, in respect of the culture of everyday life, are constantly rising. They are learning from their vertical contacts and from television which plays a great role in changing their patterns of life and culture: dressing and hairdo, in behaviour, manner of recreation, interior decoration, manner of receiving guests, etc.

But money and housing are not everything. At a certain time, as a rule when joined the collective farm, they were concerned with assuring means of maintenance for themselves and their families. Although not the only one, this was their principal need. And it was generally fully met and sometimes exceeded present day needs. For instance, they bought washing machines and electric sewing machines before they had power, or television sets before programmes could be received in the locality. They built bathrooms and outfitted them before they had water mains and sewer systems. They bought fur coats for their daughters to wear when they grew up.

Not only things bought for the future use testify to the satisfaction of needs. There is no cooperative farmer without a washing machine, radio and motorcycle – unless someone in the family does not want them. There is practically no home without a TV and if there are several hundred and not several thousand passenger automobiles, it is not because they are expensive but because not all cooperative farmers feel a need for them. Clothing and furniture bought are of the best quality available. The same applies to medical care. Although cooperative farmers have for many years been covered by the system of free medical care they rather visit specialists in cooperative medical institutions or private doctors.

It may be said that the need for money is not felt so much by these people – though they have it. There was a splendid period in the lives of the oldest collective farms in Poland when they already reached communism – at least in the system of inter-personal relations. Every member, or rather each family in the cooperative received by decision of a general assembly means of subsistence not on the basis of work done but on the basis of needs. True, this applied to incomplete families, those with many children, generally all whose earnings did not meet the standard of living of complete families. On that principle (set by the decision of the general assembly of cooperative farmers) some cooperatives aid the sick and aged, and finance stipends or dowries. There was enough for everything. They similarly did not grudge money for excursions, banquets during general assemblies, for various family celebrations and official holidays or for receiving guests, especially from abroad. That lavish period lasted for many years and was very beneficial for inter-personal relations, self-management and democracy in the collective farms.

An examples of the above such collective farms as Gorzyce in Kościan County, Nowy Świat in Pleszew County, Jaglak in Kętrzyn County, Plebanka in Aleksandrów County, Wierzbica in Pułtusk County can be mentioned. That system of relations thriving before modernization may be defined as a socio-economic situation of communistic inter-personal relations in collective farms. This was in the period from 1949 – 1952 to 1963 – 1964, when specialist production managers and combines appeared and plans of production intensification and specialization were introduced on the collective farms.

But their cohesion; their interpersonal human relations were then considerably loosened. A second group, an alien group of hired workers and specialists appeared alongside the cooperative members. With them came differentiated pay for work done, according to qualifications. The principle was correct, but since the qualifications were often formal the cooperative farmers disregarded them and showed no desire to raise their educational level and felt no need to acquire formal qualifications. Nor were they convinced of the need for their children acquiring skill.

Cooperative farmers educate their children for non-agricultural vocations, but see no need to do so if they are to work in agriculture. That tendency is stronger among them than other groups employed in agriculture. This is a disturbing phenomenon which requires intervention, just as does the question of the continued education of the cooperative farmers in general.

The Central Union of Collective Farms exerts much effort to raise their members' qualifications. But no special courses can raplace a normal school education. Considering that the average age of these people is about 40, the picture is disquieting. One of the main tasks of the social and educational commissions of the collective farm unions and hamlet institutions should hence be to ensure that the children of the cooperative farmers should finish not only elementary but also vocational technical schools.

The whole system of management and organization of the labour process is closely connected with the educational level. The rise in the economic level of the cooperatives and their modernization are accompanied by the shift of decision-making and management from the cooperative farmers to the hired personnel. While profitable from the economic viewpoint, social effects which are not consistent with the principles of collective farming.

The cooperative farmers' socio-occupational situation will continue to appear subjectively as one of abundance, on the one hand, and as of an unfavourable direction of development, on the other. By the unfavourable direction we mean:

a) one not leading to the socialization of the village and agriculture and,
b) not approved by the rural inhabitants.

There is unfortunately no complete comprehension either of the facts or phenomena in this respect.

THE STATE OF SOCIOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE OF COLLECTIVE FARMS

Not only socialist countries are interested in collective farming, but for various reasons farmers throughout the world. And that has been the case for many years. They have also become the subject of rich literature, but which primarily considers economic and organizational questions. Sociological studies are rare, and decidedly few in the socialist countries. This state of affairs may be interpreted in various ways, but perhaps the most probable explanation is that of B. Gałęski: "There is little sociological research not because sociologists consider collective farming of little interest but because the subject of research is not yet precisely clear".[5]

This statement pertains specifically to Poland, but in this writer's opinion may be extended to all the socialist countries. In no country has the sociological subject matter of collective farming been clearly formulated. Besides Gałęski (in the cited article) such an attempt was made by Kurt Krumbach (GDR) who wrote: "The basic significance of Marxist sociological research consists in the fact that it is possible on the basis of thoroughly scientific data to collaborate in the scientific direction of the society. The special importance of rural sociology lies in its investigation of social processes in the sphere of socialist agriculture, in the disclosure of new social and ideological driving forces for the creative activization of those engaged in agriculture, for raising their cultural-technical level, development of their socialist personality and social ties between socialist agriculture and the village..."[6]

The social development of the collective farms is taking the direction of the agricultural enterprise resembling the industrial enterprise. Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria have already accomplished this by creating large socialist amalgamations which cut across village boundaries and by organizing the cooperative members into specialized brigades irrespective of places of residence. Dispersion of the labour force was thus eliminated. The large socialist agricultural enterprises are not operated by a number of individuals but by brigades. Local group homogeneity will be infringed to an ever greater extent. This is the process of which Gałęski writes: "the future farm will be at any rate highly mechanized and specialized on the industrial pattern".[7]

In the new situation members of the same family will work in various agricultural and non-agricultural enterprises. The family will cease to be "a crew on its own farm". This will be equivalent to limiting the family's economic function and converting it into the consumer family – as in the city – which requires the same services as the urban family.

The organization of services in the village and modernization of housing on the city model will completely change the image of the village which will resemble the city to such a degree that the term "village" will no longer be descriptively useful. Gałęski writes further: "Considering the village model in the perspective direction of change, I see a considerable weakening of country-city distinctions and future forms where the term village' can no longer be used"[8].

The situation in Czech villages fully confirms that prognosis. The Czechs for at least 6 – 7 years and Slovaks for 4 years (since the Varna Congress) have been referring to the disappearance of the village local community there, with all its homogeneous traits. The same is happening in Bulgarian villages which as a result of scientific-technical progress are being merged into gigantic cooperative enterprises. Large specialized brigades and specialized jobs are formed on the model of industrial production crews. People are rated there according to their fitness for the job they work on, or according to function. Family and home life, spending leisure time, etc., are as far removed from the situation on the traditional farms as in the case of the factory worker's family and home.

The same direction of change has been observable in the German Democratic Republic for several years. The cooperative institutions established there (the KAP, ZBE or ZGE)[9] represent the transition to industrial production (application of scientific-technical progress), on the one hand, and the dissolution of the old structures (necessary with the creation of large specialized enterprises) on the other hand. The dissolution of the old structures liquidates the rural local community, or everything involved today in the conception "village".

It is regrettable that the countries where these processes have been developing at a rapid pace, in general limit their analyses of these collective farms to their organization and management.

Poland does not have such a rich infrastructure. Our collective farms are far from the time when the terms "village" or "local community", with all their attributes, cease to be adequate descriptions.

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8. *Ibid*, p. 213.
9. KAP = *Kooperative Abteilung Pflanzproduktion*; Z[illegible]E = *Zwischenbetriebeinrichtung*; ZGE = *Zwischengenossenschaftliche Einrichtung*.

MAREK IGNAR

SOCIOLOGICAL PROBLEMS OF POLISH STATE FARMS

The present article is based on an attempted synthesis of all available studies in this sphere as well as on this author's own research conducted in the Institute of Development of the Village and Agriculture under the Polish Academy of Sciences in 1964–1973. That research was conducted in three former provinces: Wrocław (now Legnica), Poznań (now Konin) and Warsaw (now Płock Province). The crews were investigated of 43 state farms situated in areas where new industrial complexes have been in operation for over a dozen years.

In the concluding part of the study the author proposes what he considers indispensable directions of future sociological research on Poland's agricultural enterprises.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

State farms occupy about 16 per cent of Poland's arable. Their distribution over the country is uneven, since most of them are situated in the northern and western provinces.

Together with family members close to 1 million people live on state farms. They hence constitute an important part of Polish agriculture and an essential section of the population. State farm workers are an entirely new group in relation to the pre-war categories of agricultural labourers. And their role in the Polish Peoples Republic will rise with the progressing mechanization of agriculture, the state farms' socio-economic development and their significance to Polish agriculture. A somewhat greater interest by scientists is observable in recent years in the human role in the agricultural production process and works have appeared on the conditions of state farm workers. But the research conducted and number of publications devoted to this theme are still in their initial phase.

The state farms arose 1946, one year after the country's liberation and after the Agrarian Reform. They were established on large farms which before the war were privately owned state, latifundial and church landed

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estates. The settlers on the majority of state farms mainly derived from manorial villages. The relatively closed character of the state farm communities and their small areas in the first post-war years were unfavourable for educational aspirations and participation in cultural values.

During 1952–1956 about 33000 families were settled on state farms in the Western provinces and in some counties of Rzeszów and Lublin provinces and more than 45000 steady workers were engaged. But that did not meet the need of the state farms in those areas. State farm agricultural production started almost from zero in the Western and Northern provinces. It suffices to indicate by way of example that when the landed estates were taken over by the state there were one horse and three heads of cattle per 100 ha of arable. In the first 10 years of existence the state farms were characterized by centralism and a system of planning and management from the top. They were directed until 1957 by a specially established State Farm Ministry. After the liquidation of that Ministry until 1975 the state farms were directed by an Inspectorate General under the Ministry of Agriculture. In each province (17 before the administrative reform) operated a provincial state farm amalgamation under the jurisdiction of the Inspectorate or industrial combines.

Since 1975 the state farms, now called "agricultural enterprises", have been under the jurisdiction of a newly created uniform organization of state agricultural establishments and grouped in the Central Management of State Agricultural Enterprises. This organization is considered a further step in the development of the state farms and in the forms and methods of their management. It should increase their independence, assure the necessary conditions for the creation of large, uniform agricultural economic organisms, limit intermediate links and strengthen the functions of central planning and operative management.

It should be noted however, that the state farms were to a considerable degree made independent after 1956. For they were then empowered to conclude independent transactions, agreements and undertake financial obligations. Since then they have begun to operate on the basis of internal economic accounting, i.e., to cover current expenses from their own income.

According to B. Jalowiecki,[1] the state farm settlement constitutes an ecological entity of a fairly uniform character, a subregion not only in the economic but also in the socio-demographic sense. The findings of research conducted in 1970 by J. Pilch[2] on state farms in 10 provinces show that about 70 per cent of families in these settlements maintain not only neighbourly but also companionate contact and that many of them are related. There is some evidence that the state farm community, composed of workers and their families, is a specific, fairly uniform occupational environment like the village of individual farmers or some workers' settlements, like coal mining, for instance.[3]

The objective of state farms' socio-economic activity is to produce as much as possible agricultural produce of the given assortments and quality needed by the country at the lowest possible unit cost.[4] One of their obligations is also to produce food-staffs and animal products for export. They play a particularly important role in raising the culture of agriculture by producing qualified seed, raising pedigree livestock and in testing the most modern technical and organizational solutions in agricultural production.

One of the state farms' important and difficult fields of activity is taking over land from the State Land Fund, especially in parts of the country with small populations and considerable reserves of land. For the state farms the agricultural produce market is an auxiliary, not a basic factor in undertaking production decisions. They aim in their planning methods to limit directives from above and to increase the role of economic incentives. Their main purpose is to make the directives more effective and harmonize the interests of the state with those of the workers.

New economic conditions have been created for the state farms since 1971. The principle of the introduced reforms was, among other things, financial stabilization as a result of constant profitability. Another aim is the state farms' greater exploitation and investment independence. The reforms furthermore aimed to stimulate increased production by means of material incentives of improved working and living conditions of the crews. Since 1972 new collective agreements introduced a new system of remuneration and premiums. The premiums depend primarily on increase in net output, the enterprise's profitability, fulfillment of the main task, namely, delivery of marketable produce as well as specialized activity and husbanding of State Land Fund lands. An investment and renovation fund was introduced in 1971 which increased the farms' own investment and capital renovation possibilities. Essential is the application of ground rent settlement which is calculated to equalize the differentiated natural and economic conditions of different forms.

The working community on state farms has thus far had rather an organic than a technical-organizational character. And the worker is incomparably more attached to his place of work than the industrial worker. He spends a greater part of his life than the members of other occupational groups with his work-mates and has relatively little inter-community contact. This renders a considerable part of state farm crews and their families the character of a closed community. But progressing industrialization and urbanization as well as the development of mass culture are and will continue to exert their influence on the transformation of this community's traditional traits.

State farms consist of single buildings or of farm complexes. The smaller ones of the latter, composed of a few farms, are colloquially called „keys". The larger ones, consisting of 8 or 10 farms and embracing several thousand hectares are called combines or multi-object enterprises. In the opinion of J. Kosicki,[5] the combines, with the proper choice of managerial personnel and internal accounting in the production units may attain a rapid growth of production and of productivity as well as a rational use of resources. The view is however convincing that there are no absolutely good or absolutely bad organizational forms, since everything depends on the conditions in which concrete forms are applied[6]. Moreover, much depends on the people who make up the working crew much more than on the organizational scheme.

Man is the subject of the production process, since he sets it in motion to satisfy his needs. But he is at the same time its object, since he expands his own labour. The role of the subjective character of the human factor clearly rises in the socialized economy, since every worker is a co-owner of the general social or group property. Observation of state farms indicates that it is not easy to create an economic-organizational and socio-occupational situation in which the agricultural worker feels himself truly a co-owner of his enterprise.

An important new development in the activity of state farms is their cooperation with the other sectors of agriculture. This was practically initiated in 1972. Their collaboration with individual farms, the Agricultural Circles and cooperative farms influences not only the growth of agricultural production. It also creates possibilities of the planned influence by the state on the socio-economic transformation of the rural areas. That cooperation contributes to the more rapid completion of field work, the better husbanding of livestock as well as to the improvement of social conditions and rural services. Services in the sphere of mechanization are developing very rapidly.

The cooperative links of individual farms with state farms should facilitate the introduction of new technology, of modern forms of organization of the labour process, of specialization and the other characteristics of progress on peasant farms. Expanded cooperation has also the aim of directly linking the state farms with the evolutionary process of reconstruction of Polish agriculture.

THE SOCIAL AND OCCUPATIONAL SITUATION OF STATE FARM WORKERS

Research conducted by the Institute of Development of the Village and Agriculture on the situation and prospects of state farm workers in industrialized districts of the country shows a greater fluidity of state farm workers there than in other regions. For they found greater opportunities in the industrialized districts to obtain well paying jobs. Socio-economic changes are taking place more rapidly in industrialized regions in country-town and agriculture-industry relations than on a nationwide scale. And it may be assumed that those phenomena in the highly industrialized regions are forerunners of similar socio-economic changes in the rest of the country.

Perhaps the most important current problem of the state farms is to raise the qualifications of their workers and their intellectual, cultural level.

This became an urgent necessity in recent years due to the rapid rise in the technical equipment of agricultural enterprises.

An important factor of the attractiveness of work in the state sector of agriculture are the regular working hours, the equalization of rights in this sphere with other occupations in the socialized economy and the prospects of further reduction of the working day. Under the old collective labour agreements the working hours in animal husbandry were not fixed and often amounted to 14 hours or more a day without overtime pay. The new agreement which established the 8 hour working day equalizes the previous disproportions between workers employed at animal husbandry and other groups of state farm workers.

That situation compels management to seek new organizational and production forms, in the shape, for instance, of two shifts or a higher degree of mechanization. This trend of change may be expected to stabilize working teams and employment in animal husbandry. An important development is also the process already commenced of industrializing anima production by means of large rearing farms.

Research establishes that the cause of the flux of workers between state farms is their search for better working and living conditions. In recent years the main source of the influx of new workers were other state farms and young people who started to work. The new principles of distribution of premiums helped stabilize state farm crews. In recent years one may observe the influx of young workers with better general and vocational education. This has effected a considerable improvement in pay and living conditions as provided in the new collective agreements. The fluidity of personnel nevertheless remains a problem, for it negatively affects the state farms' production results. An important factor in the improvement of the structure of working crews is – and probably will be to a greater extent in future – the rapid application of agricultural machines and equipment which also improve working conditions. This should influence the workers to raise their vocational qualifications and consequently their earnings, particularly since the new collective agreements provide high premiums precisely for vocational training. The system of raising the workers' skills and effectiveness is closely connected – on the feed-back principle – with the rise in the occupational prestige and in the working and living conditions of state farm workers. There is reason to expect that the continued improvement of the human factor and level of life harmonized with the rational economic accounting and organization of production will assure the proper development of the state sector Poland's agriculture.

The question of obtaining highly skilled personnel for the state farms should be based on well thought out and organized activity geared to the time perspective. A preliminary but very important condition for this is creation of the possibility of child care and upbringing which has been neglected on state farms in comparison with the city community.

An analysis of empirical data suggests that general favourable changes in employment may be expected at least until 1980, despite the prognosis of the negative reproduction by the state farms of their own manpower. And the qualitative selection of personnel should be advantageous to the farms' activity.

The most important motives for going to work on a state farm are: the lower cost of living than in town, the relative ease of obtaining a dwelling and the liking to work in agriculture. Very striking in the opinion of workers is the divergence between the feeling of the occupation's low prestige and the conviction of its great social utility. In this author's opinion, this is one of the key reasons for the difficulty in obtaining valuable personnel and of the hitherto negative selection of the human factor. This contradiction has had a negative effect also on the workers' attitude to their general socio-economic situation as on the activity of the farms. The attitude to the state farms and to the people working there may be considered no longer actual, because of the considerable progress in production and mechanization and the visible improvement of the living conditions of the crews and their families. But that progress is perhaps too little known in the broader society to change the stereotype view of the state farm and its workers among the non-agricultural population.

It seems that we have the duty and possibility in a socialist country in relation to a socialist enterprise to raise the occupational prestige of the worker in the state sector of agriculture. It must be noted that there has been an improvement in this respect in recent years.

Research indicates that the state farm workers are only entering the stage of awareness of their place in the rural structure and socialist state. The developing processes of the far-reaching modernization of technology and the organization of the labour process, with living standards gradually approaching city standards open up a realistic perspective of state farm workers regarding themselves part of the working class. Not burdened like peasants by an individual farm, state farm workers already seem closer to the city way of life.

Until recently the attitude of the individual farm village to state farm workers was most often a passive and sometimes hostile one. This was closely associated with the low prestige of the latter, their level of life and not always imposing organization and production effects. But the situation can be expected to change in the near future when the model of functioning and organization of the state farms – probably in differrent variants – as well as the workers' status, structure and living conditions will be improved and transformed. The changes are in the direction of better production and financial effects and the fuller adaptation of the situation of state farm workers to the fundamental principles of the socialist system. At present we are still pretty far from implementation of the obligatory principle of democratic management of state farms and much must be changed before the worker is in fact a co-manager. State farm workers identify themselves to a small degree with their place of work and their personal aspirations with the aims of the farm.

THE LEVEL OF LIFE AND CULTURAL CONDITIONS

The level of life and cultural conditions as indicated above, the consistent improvement of social, living and cultural conditions is a key question in the development of the state sector of Polish agriculture. It is a principle condition for assuring good steady crews in the state farms. In the future it will be necessary to apply the principle that production expenditures include a given, effective sum for improving the quality of personnel and of their level of living. Otherwise, the losses from the inadequate utilization of means of production may be serious. A properly thought out social cost accounting should look ahead into the future when an essential condition for raising the rank of and interest in work in the state farms will most likely be the definite and consistent improvement of social and living conditions.

An analysis shows that the per capita consumption fund in the state farms was primarily determined by the number of children in the family, which is large in that community. Furthermore, family allowances equalized to a small degree the differences in this respect. The large number of children per family of state farm workers is due to the low educational level. To normalize the living conditions and regulate the family budget it is necessary to guarantee an appropriate income level in all seasons--hitherto considerably differentiated. Data from an intensively industrialized region – the socio-economic phenomena of which may be anticipated to develop on a country-wide scale – show that labour must be paid higher also in the state farms because of the manpower deficit. In such situations the group serving mechanization is the highest paid. Wages and gross income have risen considerably on state farms in recent years, particularly since 1971. It is necessary to strengthen this tendency for many reasons and that is the direction adopted for the development of the state agricultural sector.

Empirical data attest that young workers with brief employment are satisfied with the situation of their families on state farms. But their needs are greater than those of older workers and they expect greater improvement in their living conditions. That should be considered in shaping the structure of personnel as well as wage and premium policy in the further development of the state farms. Of importance would also be the aid to young couples and a clearly understood system of promotion.

On state farms with little differentiated crews of the manor type a new, ever more complex employment structure and varied occupations is taking shape. That will require an improved and more precise wage and abandonment of payment in kind. It will be indispensable in the introduced changes to check, at least periodically, the worsening of the general situation of some families. For example, payment in kind can be abandoned only with a decided improvement of the possibility of obtaining the full money equivalent of the foodstuffs. An accurate knowledge of the budgets of various types of families, especially of those with many children will be necessary.

Housing conditions, the important element of the level of living, are today and probably will be to a greater extent in the future a decisive consideration in going to work on a state farm. This will depend primarily on such factors as: standard of the dwelling, organization of the services and the settlements' social and cultural conditions. In the future building of state farm settlements should utilize to a greater extent regional traditions, configuration of the terrain, the state of aforestation and the existing water reserves. This will enable in many cases to render settlements original and distinct characters and would eliminate the often observed today monotony of state farm housing settlements. Studies conducted by the Institute of Housing Economy (now the Institute of Environment Shaping) show that it would be most advantageous to apply building in series, linking the behaviour of rural life with the economical husbanding of terrain.

Assurance of proper housing conditions should be linked with appropriate spatial solutions which are geared to the organization of the inhabitants' lives in accordance with the principles of humanitarianism and economy. The state farm settlement may be regarded as a kind of workers' village, evolving from a rural agricultural towards an urbanized settlement where the population combines work in the enterprise with running a garden plot. State farm workers prefer one or two-family houses. Only a small section prefer to live in multi-storey housing blocks, which indicates a disinclination to the city type multi-family housing. Young people who like to work in agriculture and are attached to the village seem to prefer single or two-family houses, with a separate apartment and garden, equipped with electric light, running water, a sewage system and gaz. Contact with the benefits of urban civilization may be maintained by convenient communications, including a private automobile in the future.

The provision of the families of state farm workers with means of spending leisure time and with household facilities is rapidly improving. A large naumber of families have television sets and its general diffusion can be expected soon. The indices of equipment with many durable goods are high in workers' families and the introduction of new hitherto unknown equipment and apparatus attests to the rapid modernization of life and to the fact that the state farm workers' settlement is catching up with the city community.

In relation to vacations, there will be a stronger tendency to follow the example of young people who prefer to spend them outside the state farm. Greater mobility is to be expected and a broader range of needs in this respect. At present there is small diversification of these needs.

In the sphere of cultural life the most beneficial and dynamic changes are taking place as a result of the diffusion of the mass media, especially TV among state farm workers. It is already evident that television programmes are exerting a beneficial influence on the cultural level. The situation will probably look different in the future when crews will be composed of better educated and more qualified workers.

State farms have thus far been inadequately equipped with local cultural institutions and there has been little progress in their activity. Probably the most important element in informal inter-personal relations will be breaking the still prevailing isolation of the state farm settlement as a local community. Progress is already noticeable in the sphere of culture in connection with industrialization and urbanization processes and the national development of the mass media. There are grounds for believing that the relations between the state farm and the peasant village are improving. This is associated with the developing cooperation in production by these two sectors. It may be expected that changes in the sphere of culture will in the future favourably influence and transform the traditional traits of the state farm workers' community. The decided majority of these workers feel the definite improvement in their living conditions in recent years, although their needs have not yet been fully satisfied. In their opinion, besides improved remuneration and housing, the working time should be reduced and they should be able to take vacations at convenient times, which is connected with better conditions of rest and relaxation.

Most state farm workers consider their conditions worse than those of industrial workers, but better or at least not worse, than on individual farms. The majority of respondents were also of the opinion that state farm workers will soon have a better life than individual farmers. They also expect their work to be made lighter by the introduction of new machines and equipment and a shorter workday.

DIRECTIONS OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH ON AGRICULTURAL ENTERPRISES IN POLAND

1. THE SPECIFIC FEATURES AND EVOLUTION OF LABOUR RELATIONS IN AGRICULTURAL ENTERPRISES

This author has a somewhat different conception from that of B. Gałęski who considers that the state farm, because of its social character, is closer to the industrial enterprise than to the peasant farm and that its sociological subject-matter is to a considerable degree identical with that of the non-agricultural production enterprise. In my opinion state farms still have specific features of their own. For land is the chief means of production here and there is a tie to the land as the place of residence and the centre of life. Already observable today are agricultural enterprises which form distinct and closed local communities, and which undoubtedly represent an adaptation of the state farm to the life and work on the individual farm. At the same time, the spatial system, often traditional, the organization of some jobs or their terminology as well as the partial remuneration in kind show that the state farm has not entirely shed some characteristics of the former manor. True, urbanization, improved transportation, industrialization, new production techniques and particularly the building of large industrial animal breeding farms all this brings the state farm close to the industrial enterprise. But this is only a developing process which must be observed, investigated and analysed. We will then be able to anticipate further changes and steer in a desirable direction from the viewpoint of the society and the workers involved.

It is certainly worth-while studying and hastening the disappearance of the old, consolidated traits in many regions of manor labourers or the stereotype of the hired agricultural wage worker. Future research should also analyse the changes transpiring in the state farm community and the development of central establishment settlements in agricultural or agricultural-industrial combines. Better practical cognition of the changes in the socialized agricultural enterprise requires also a penetrating study of the specifics of life and work in various types of producers' cooperatives. It is important to perceive the differences and similarities between the state farm and the cooperative farm, and the trends of change in that respect. The two may be expected to approximate each other in the future. This is indicated by the example of other socialist countries such as Czechoslovakia. J. Czyszkowska-Dąbrowska[8] clearly points to the evolution of cooperative farms in the direction of state agricultural enterprises. On the other hand, the authoress perceives in the state farm model a certain approximation to the cooperative form. When taking over land from the State Land Fund the cooperative farm organizes so-called annexes and there thus arises the multi-object cooperative. In Dąbrowska's opinion, the cooperative farm is to an ever lesser degree an association of former individual farmers. And if changes continue in the same direction, the need will arise of special legal regulation and uniformization of property forms which would enable the cooperative farms to operate rational, large modern agricultural enterprises. H. Chołaj[9] considers that the cooperative farms have entered the field of industrial activity in the sphere of processing agricultural produce and are on the road to becoming agro-industrial complexes. The latter are not only a given organizational structure but also an important socio-economic phenomenon expressing the process of convergence between the state and cooperative forms of property in the agricultural economy.

In connection with the above, the legal questions of the two types of farms as agricultural enterprises becomes a subject of research. Of great importance here seems to be the rapid elimination of the traits of peasant farming in the activity of the cooperative farms. With the already great share of state land in cooperative farms there is a proposal for converting these enterprises from cooperative farms into workers' and eventually at times into handicraft cooperatives.

2. CHANGES IN THE CREWS OF AGRICULTURAL ENTERPRISES

A proper employment policy in agricultural enterprises, especially in view of the difficult rural demographic situation in Poland, requires first of all a good understanding of the structure of working crews and the changes they are undergoing. Only that enables to apply apropriate measures in order to acquire the desired situation in the future. At present there is also a lack of documentation and research material for drawing accurate conclusions. Such research should consider the fact that state farm workers constitute a new complex socio-occupational group which is not yet fully crystallized. It will be important to comprehend the directions and tempo of change in the employment structure. A study will be necessary of changes in the social structure of cooperative farm crews. An important phenomenon inadequately stressed in existing research is the division of labour and occupational-professional specialization in enterprises. Wider diffusion of the model of organization of the labour process will require intensification of the processes of professionalization, particularly in animal breeding and of the functions of auxiliary groups of workers.

This author fully agrees with Z. Seręga[10] that the problem of the qualifications and proper preparation of personnel in view of progressing mechanization and introduction of new production technology assumes ever growing importance. And technical transformation may in the near future effect a change in the social role of workers who acquired the skills and know-how in long years of work. The statement is almost a truism that the growth of specialization and marketable production in agriculture creates ever new demands in the sphere of labour skills and their constant improvement. The main trend in the future will be toward a basic rise of general qualifications and intensified division of labour. And that will in turn cause the shaping of specialized agricultural professions and occupations.

An indispensable condition for effecting these desirable changes in the formation of modern crews will be the assured transition from a negative to a positive selection of the human factor in the socialized agricultural enterprises. According to T. Kościański[11], employment on state farms is not only a matter of supply and demand or just the utilization of labour power. It is a highly complicated question of a socio-psychological character flowing from the previous nature of work and living on the individual farm or in town and the need of going to work and often also living on a state farm. K. Groszyński[12] considers that acquiring adequate agronomically trained personnel for the state farms is still an open question. It is especially urgent to draw in more young people from vocational schools and train them for work on state farms. The ongoing processes of intensive modernization and of considerable expenditures, make it impossible for the great majority of workers remaining without the qualifications acquired in vocational schools.

J. Czyszkowska-Dąbrowska maintains that in the past relatively few educated and good farmers were to be found in cooperative farms but rather those compelled by difficult family situations. But an improvement is noticeable in recent years. Cooperative farm workers have been acquiring a new economic status, their social and living conditions have been improving. But the questions of the place and number of specialists and hired workers undoubtedly remains a real problem in cooperative farms. In recent years there has been a rapid increase in the number of steadily employed hired workers, mainly specialists as well as of unskilled seasonal workers. In Dąbrowska's opinion, the incomplete utilization of their own manpower reserves and the yearly rise in the employment of hired workers indicate the emergence of a new problem in cooperative farms. Thus agricultural and non-agricultural specialization of production requires ever more specialists who agree to work in the cooperative farms but are not willing to become members. It may be said in general that the need for specialists will grow in measure as the state farms acquire the characteristics of enterprises.

3. THE SOCIO-OCCUPATIONAL SITUATION OF STATE AND COLLECTIVE FARM WORKERS

The question of occupational prestige and social position is without doubt one of the most important problems in this sphere. It is directly associated with satisfaction deriving from the work and with the self-evaluation of its utility to the society. A complex of such problems is accented by the conclusions of this author's research in 1972. Very striking was the gap between the low level of prestige of the occupation and the state farm workers' awareness of the great social utility of their work. In the author's opinion, this was a key reason for the difficulties connected with acquiring valuable personnel and the until recently observed negative selection of the human factor by state farms. This contradiction undoubtedly had negative consequences for the general social and vocational situation of agricultural workers and on the production activity of the farms. Future research should establish whether that situation still prevails and if it is related to the size or type of enterprise or to the agricultural sector (state or cooperative). This may enable conclusions with respect to adjusting this subtle and essential factor.

This is emphasized here since previous research clearly established that the degree of identification of the workers' personal aspirations with the aims of the enterprise has been low on state farms. That research suggests that at the beginning of the 70s state farm workers were only entering the stage of awareness of their places in the Polish rural structure and in the socialist state. According to Z. T. Wierzbicki[14], the fact that most of the land of the collective farms are now state property eliminates many conflicts and weakens centrifugal tendencies in the class consciousness. On the other hand, this fact makes more difficult the members' identification with the cooperative because they feel more like workers than cooperators. It is extremely important in concrete cases that the workers be conscious of the principles and character of work of state and collective farms as institutions and enterprises. The situation with this consciousness is still unsatisfactory, and that is perhaps another theme for future research.

In reference to the collective farm, an important question will probably be the relations and attitudes between the founders of the cooperative and their successors. Another research subjest may by the comparison of social relations in the collective farms in their evolution and the degree of advancement of collective activity.

4. THE TECHNICAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL LEVELS OF THE ENTERPRISE AND THE ROLE OF THEIR CREWS

Important in this group of problems will be observation and an active attitude to certain causal relations in this kind of chain of interrelations. Thus the degree of mechanization in agricultural enterprises is undoubtedly associated with the extent of the workers' raised qualifications. A rising level of these skills in turn influences an improvement in the conditions of life and work. While changes in these important factors will certainly be accompanied by changes in social relations in the interprise. The links and relations in the sphere of technical and organizational level will be the factors of the workers' vocational and material advancement. Evaluation of the tempo and regularities of these links and changes in them will require penetrating investigation. It may be worth noting here certain aspects in connection with the size of the agricultural enterprise, so important especially in a period of such numerous reorganizations. The problem of optimal size should be investigated not only in respect of mechanization or the economy of production. It is also necessary to consider the crews' ability to work together in order to assure their proper participation in decisions on the enterprise's activity.

The general agreement that the future of socialized agriculture belongs to large enterprises does not rule out methods of concentration. For it is a matter of developing enterprises of a structure which corresponds to the maximum to the applied instruments of production, means of transportation, etc., but which at the same time accord with crews' qualifications and know-how of directing personnel in managing large enterprises[15].

It may be best first to establish what type of enterprises may be regarded as local communities. The directions of development of these communities should be studied and the emerging processes of urbanization and industrialization on the one hand, and the modernization of agricultural production and the shaping-up of a complex of foodstuffs economy, on the other. It would be important in the research to note the trends of change in relations with individual farms, probably focussing on the progressing elimination of the isolation of socialized enterprises. It would also be necessary to observe the interest shown by individual farmers in the life and work of the different types of agricultural enterprises.

State farms, especially in the western provinces, constitute a kind of entity, embracing both agricultural enterprises and communities of industrial settlements. In this situation the coliving with the inhabitants of settlements exerts an essential influence on collective work in agriculture. For the social contacts of state farm workers are not limited to the working hours as is generally the case in industrial enterprises. The research of J. Kierul[16], shows that the inhabitants of state farm settlements are linked with various branches of the national economy. There is hence no basis for creating separate infra-structures for the state farm and for its settlement. It must be one settlement network geared to the needs of the entire population living permanently or temporarily in the district as well as to the property stock, which should be systematically analysed. This would enable to separately examine the optimal size of the settlement and its services as well as the maximum area of the agricultural enterprise. Freedom of decision in this sphere is thus increased.

H. Zaniewska[17] has come to a similar conclusion. She advocates basing state farm housing construction on the role of the settlement network and the farm's organizational form. This may be done on the basis of the existing state farms or population aggregations. Location of settlements on the terrain of hamlet villages makes it possible to utilize the services by the generality of rural inhabitants and settlements equipped with services located on state farms will attract village inhabitants who have no such services. A decision to build common hamlet settlements for various groups of rural inhabitants, including state farm workers, will concentrate on the rural settlement network and thus help assure proper housing conditions for the rural population generally. But the integration should not be limited to concentrated housing construction but should be social integration, the kind assuring proper planning and functioning of rural settlements.

Sociological research on agricultural enterprises should not centre exclusively around the social aspects of labour but should be a broad analysis of the life of the entire settlement community.

6. INTER-PERSONAL RELATIONS IN AGRICULTURAL ENTERPRISES

As is known, besides the formal organization of production, enterprises have more or less developed personal relations among members of working crews which shape their informal structure. As Z. Piotrowski correctly indicates, the exploitation of new means of production often requires also changes in the inter-personal relations of working teams corresponding to the division of labour and of responsibility. Relations at work and forms of companionship undergo constant, though often unnoticed, change in that connection.

Investigations of inter-personal relations in agricultural enterprises should centre attention on their relation to technical progress, to changes in the organization of the labour process, the growth of skills, to workers' specialization, etc. It is also important to disclose the main areas of potential conflict. In cooperative farms this may be related with a kind of two-level management causing misunderstandings between the individual specialist and the management collective sometimes composed of non-specialists. Dąbrowska considers that the introduction of specialists in the cooperative farm management is an element in their evolution from the artel model of producers' cooperative to a modern socialist agricultural enterprise.

In his investigation of 3 cooperative farms in Upper Silesia Z. T. Wierzbicki established numerous kinship ties and nepotism among their members and the lack of any but the economic ideology. In his opinion, protectionism can develop more easily in this system than elsewhere.

It seems necessary to concentrate research in this group of problems on the existing and desirable models of social relations, to evaluate the degree of democratization and the crews' exercise of self-management in measure with technical progress and rise in the workers' educational level. It is already evident that scientific research in this sphere will be particularly difficult. Of help here may be the studies of inter-personal relations in industrial enterprises.

7. PRINCIPAL ELEMENTS OF THE LEVEL OF LIFE AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON SOCIAL RELATIONS IN AGRICULTURAL ENTERPRISES

A key question in the development of the socialized agricultural enterprise – associated with relations at work and quality of the working personnel – is a consistent improvement of working and living conditions. As pointed out above, rising the level of life should assure good crews steadily attached to the enterprise. Research should hence study the scale and tempo of approximation of working and living conditions to those of non-agricultural enterprises and institutions. It is significant that the Kętrzyński Agricultural-Industrial Amalgamation of Olsztyn province proposed in its experimental futurist solutions a new housing settlement and services as well as social and cultural centres on the level which would create the same living conditions in the country as are enjoyed by the inhabitants of a well equipped city.

M. Świetlik[18] concludes from research in Olsztyn province that the dissemination by the mass media of the urban way of life and promotion of closer contact with the city have conspicuously raised the aspirations of state farm workers. They now postulate a shorter workday, elimination of excessive physical strain, city housing standards, an effective health service and various forms of child care and youth upbringing. The material collected in that research justify the assertion that a considerable part of state farm crews intend to retain steady employment on state farms. This intention should be reinforced by concrete benefits.

In relation to cooperative farms it will be important to examine the significance of the equalization of their rights and privileges (in 1971) with those of other branches of the socialized economy. For that decision made the level of social benefits dependent on the situation of individual cooperative farms, since the state took over jurisdiction over such benefits for their members. One got the impression in previous years that in raising the skills of state farm workers or in improving their living conditions, matters of production were too often left in the shade. This time workers' suitability and labour relations are strongly connected with production and financial effects. It seems necessary to adopt the general principle in the future that production inputs be associated with really effective budget allocations for the improvement of personnel and of the workers' level of living. Moreover, a properly thought out social cost accounting should be geared to the future.

In the time perspective one of the most important factors of raising the status of work and interest in it on an agricultural enterprise is sure to be a conspicuous improvement of working and living conditions. This is indicated not only by production considerations but to the same extent by the social and occupational conditions. Research on this theme may propose, among other things, such important elements of life as: remuneration and income, housing conditions, equipment of consumers with durable goods, nutritional level, health protection, hygiene, rest and recreation – associated with leisure time and cultural life. Another subject of research will be the situation of old people in agricultural enterprises. That of course does not exhaust the list of essential elements of the level of life which require research.

* * *

The significance of broader research on the social problems of agricultural enterprises results, among others, from the serious changes they are undergoing in connection with mechanization and the concentration of production and settlements. Reorganization of the enterprises has not been accompanied by an appropriate literature analysing the social aspects of production, although the transformation of social life in these communities may be of decisive significance for the future development of Polish agriculture.

One of the most important objections to big farms has been the lack of concern with the results of collective work as compared with the care shown by the individual farmer for his own farm. Good organization of the labour process, assurance of the entire crew's proper cooperation and an appropriate moral climate may contribute to the solution of this problem. Such problems chiefly pertain to inter-personal relations in the agricultural enterprise and its housing settlement.

The above proposed groups of problems for research are primarily based on the existing state of knowledge of the situation in previous years and the resulting feeling of the most urgent research needs. The set of research proposals may include controversial ones; it is certainly incomplete and at the same time repetitious in relation to some questions. This is due first of all to the complexity of the subject-matter and the still inadequate degree of cognition, associated with the still limited experience of social research on agricultural enterprises in Poland.

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III. CHANGES IN THE WAY OF LIFE

EUGENIA JAGIEŁŁO-ŁYSIOWA

TRANSFORMATION OF THE WAY OF LIFE OF THE RURAL COMMUNITY

For Polish villages with a given socio-economic past and distinct cultural traditions the question of the transformation of the way of life involves, for most groups of the rural population, the degree of attachment to or breaking with the peasant tradition. Our main concern here are groups of peasant socials origin – individual farmers – for, as it may be assumed, the direction of social transformation of these groups will determine the social and cultural life of the Polish countryside in a future.

Considerations on the present way of life of the rural population, focused on the groups of the peasant origin, require, at least, two frames of reference. One of them is a schematically conceived level of the so-called traditional peasant culture, including elements of modernization in the groups of emancipated peasants. The other is a level of modern urban culture in a broad sense of the word. This scheme takes no account of regional differentiations in culture and peasant tradition we only indicate some general and, to a certain degree, hypothetical trends of changes.

The present compilation, based on sociological and as well as on autobiographies of some rural inhabitans ethnographic works describing various spheres of rural life, deals with certain aspects of the way of life. Thus only the spheres of greater significance to the changes in the way of life have been singled out in this paper:

1. the realm of vocation and work;
2. the realm of recreation and leisure time.

In the past there were two main and considerably different rural ways of life in Poland, represented by the peasants and the gentry. In that historically formed social system the way of life was primarily determined by a class membership. The „lordly" way of life was obligatory even for the poorer gentry. While the way of life of even rich peasants differed from that of the gentry, it did not vary considerably from the way of life of small or even landless peasants, although their social position in the local community, the level of their material consumption and the general standard of living were undoubtedly higher. For the various social barriers: educational,

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cultural, legal, etc. were a hindrance to all peasants, although it was somewhat easier for the richer ones to surmount some of them (education of children, for instance)[1]. Besides tradition and social barriers, the uniform way of life was also influenced by the peasant system of values shaped in relative isolation from other social groups and strata, i.a. by the fact that in the rural culture work was obligatory for all members of the community without exception, that all peasants were manual labourers.

More developed differentation in the rural community was already noticeable in the inter-war period (1918 – 1939). A larger group in the village still represented the „classical" rustic way of life; while the other, representing the most enlightened, politically and economically organized groups of peasants, overcoming the resistance of their own traditionally oriented social environment as well as the objective economic and educational barriers, modified, up to their possibilities, the classical peasant way of life. „Once a peasant, always a peasant", and „reading is not necessary for the peasant", those were popular sayings characteristic of the peasant", those were popular sayings characteristic of the traditional rural attitude and way of life. Within the group of the ideologically emancipated peasants there was the opposite desire to share the values of social and political life of the country and of national culture. This was associated with the rejection of the rural economic situation and the peasants' low social position and with violent revolt (especially of the youth groups against the peasant philosophy of unchangeable destiny.

The process of cultural changes proceeded in a differentiated manner in time and space. Thus, certain elements of the way of life now becoming actual in the Białystok region appeared in the Poznań region in the inter-war period (and even earlier), for example farming viewed as a profession, economic organizations, agro-technical schooling, agricultural periodicals, mechanization of work, etc. This process was undoubtedly selective and underwent regressive phases. There can be no doubt as to its differentiation not only within a region or a village but also within a family or even of personality traits. Individuals and families accepting certain „different" or „new" elements of the way of life, could be found even in the most traditional regions, while families or individuals living in the classical peasant way even in the most modernizing regions.

What basic structural elements of rural culture and system of values were essential for the two discussed ways of life, each taken in its classical and modernized form?

The central structuring factor of the peasant social, economic and cultural system has been land and work on the soil. This was a kind of „agrocentric" system in which land determined the place of the individual and the family in a local community.

Isolated to a great degree and self-dependent, the peasant community had to create its own specific defence mechanisms both economic and cultural, as it constantly faced economic, legal and other threats. One of these defence mechanisms was a certain idealization of its own communal and cultural characteristics[2]. This was expressed in the desire to advance primarily within one's own group and a critical attitude to communities, occupations and professions not connected with farming. For only „bread-giving" work was held in high esteem. The sense of the value of land in its economic insurance and social prestige functions shaped for generations the peasant personality and mentality. This mentality characterized the peasants social identity and the conception of life connected with land as „the vocation and destiny". In that sense there should also be stressed the social role of possession, of landed property. Work for a land-owner or, generally, for someone else made in that social system a great difference not only in economics (in the standard of living) but also in prestige. The larger property the greater social prestige. Hence the common desire to have one's own piece of land, however small and the urge to increase one's possessions, and save up in order to buy more land. With thus shaped conception of life landownership seems to have had a certain autonomic value, a value in itself, and work on the land was among the deeply internalized moral values[3].

As indicated above, the groups of emancipating peasants broke with the philosophy of the unchangeable „peasant destiny" in favour of rural modernization and progress. Their understanding of the general social organization of labour was accompanied by specifying the place and role of the peasants as the „bread-winners of the nation" and sometimes by the idealization of their way of life (based on land, nature and communal ties) as being closer to nature and socially healthier. The mental horizons of the traditional peasant are broadened here by elements of rational farming, education, general culture and awareness of the general social role of the enlightened peasant-citizen. We already see here the premises of the professionalization of farming and the process of active access of peasants to the general, national culture[4].

The traditional and modernized systems of rural culture are characterized by the following social aspects of the peasants' style of work. The first aspect was connected with the ethical aspect of work. The esteem for work put its character and conditions (the physical strain and duration, for instance) beyond criticism. Criticism smacked of an immoral attitude, was outside the canons of the traditional view of labour and aroused the suspicion that the critic „is not willing to work". The measure of the value of work was the physical effort expended – hence the cult of strength, endurance, patience in the ideal image of the peasant farmer.

The moral rank of work, a certain humility and subordination to the little known natural forces as well as technically primitive implements of labour constituted the specific traits of peasant industriousness, the traits of accuracy, orderliness, reliability, steadiness of effort, thrift. This style of work had undoubtedly some necessary characteristics of rational farming, i.e. it enabled higher labour effects and gave employment, even though seemingly, to redundant family members, for instance, in periods of agrarian overpopulation.

Another social aspect of the style of work was the fact that the family members worked to a considerable degree to satisfy their own needs. It possessed a certain value of a family autonomy, what was connected with the structure of the community, since the individual's position in community was the same as that of his family. If there were certain ambitions with regard to the farm and work (enlarging the farm area or the livestock herd, etc.), they pertained more to the family than the individual. Great devotion to work on the farm was very characteristic of each member of the family.

Still another aspect of the former style of work was the strong, although non-uniform attachment of family members to the farm. The most attached was the farmer himself, his wife and children. The grown-up children, especially before marriage, enjoyed a certain easing of the rigour of work but only in the periods of less intense labour or during the holidays.

Strongly marked in the peasant style of work was the division of labour according to sex and age. Men were to a greater degree engaged in strictly agricultural work in the field; women, in animal husbandry, the household and upbringing of children.

An essential element of that culture and style of work was socialization of individuals through useful productive labour from the easiest to the most difficult jobs which consisted in the transmission of know-how through learning and family experience. Undertaking certain tasks (for instance, the first unaided driving a plow by a boy, the first unaided distaff run by a girl) constituted a kind of social initiation, for they closed a certain stage of adaptation of the individual to the process of labour.

The technical style of work by means of simple implements (following the plow digging with a horse, reaping by sickle or scythe, hauling grain by horse) was rather slow, although people worked efficiently in given technical conditions, especially during harvests or potato digging. This kind of efficiency was even a matter of prestige and satisfaction as a component of personality model. The social rhythm of farm work, linked with the biological rhythm, pulsated quickly in summer, only to slow down in winter. On the whole, life in the country flowed slower than in town. The traditional peasant farm was linked in the labour process (and not only in that process) with other farms within the local community. One could observe here examples both of specific competition (mostly concerning the size of farms or area of arable land) and of cooperation, but there were no institutional contacts with broader collectivities, except for the market. This determined the style of work as „open" in relation to the local community (mutual help in work, working off debt, unselfish aid in cases of accident or natural disaster common labour by working in groups). But the style of work was a closed one in reference to the broader communities.

While the urge to satisfy needs of the local community by work on land and the feeling of collective responsibility in periods of danger were strong in the farmers' awareness, it seems that a specific consciousness of the general social significance of the farmer's work and rôle was rather rare among them.

The style of work of the group labelled as emancipated peasants did not differ considerably in respect of the family organization of labour, such as: attitude toward the farm, socialization through work, lacking autonomy of an individual in the family (although there could be observed generation conflicts concerning, for instance, reader's interests organization of work and modernization of farming in general), and to some extent also in respect of the rhythm of agricultural labour. But it did differ in readiness to undertake for technical and agrotechnical innovations, as well as in the social and moral motivation of work and openness to the global society. It was due to the wave of criticism of the traditional peasant style of work as irrational together with new proposals for improvement such as modernization of labour process or economic calculation. They also tended to prefer agricultural training hence the elements of professionalization.

Owing to this group and, particularly, to the peasant socio-political movement there appeared a system of peasant institutions and organizations, mainly of a cooperative character with the aim of defending the peasants' socio-economic interests. The cooperation of families and farms within those institutions modified the family style of work (for instance, baking bread in cooperative bakeries, delivery of milk to cooperative dairies) and influnced the sphere of culture (organization of performances and courses, schooling in agricultural circles, rural housewives' and youth circles, etc.). Local communities, institutionally advanced, constituted specific economic, political and cultural centres.

The style of work of the traditional groups of the rural population was oriented mainly on the reproduction of basic social, moral, technical and organizational values. The style of work of the emancipated group (in aspirations and often in behaviour) was to a large extent oriented on modernization, rationalization and institutional development within the frameworks of the basically peasant culture of work.

What were the characteristic styles of the traditional and modernized patterns of leisure and culture?

The use of the concept "leisure time" in reference to peasant cultural tradition rises certain doubts. If leisure is understood as being autonomous in relation to the process of work, and if spending leisure time is regarded as depending on one's own choice, then we should say it did not in fact exist in the peasant community. The style of leisure (its amount, duration, content) constituted here a component of the total socio-economic system and of family system as well as a way of life, while the various forms of rest and recreation were of non-autonomous character as parts of economic-productive of a social-ritual activity. Hence the social functions of leisure differed here from its functions in urban environments and organization of leisure was also different.

Characteristic of that style of leisure was staying "at home", within the reach of the farm, since it depended on the needs of the cattle, the cycle of agricultural work, etc. Leisure was thus very limited, it could not conflict with the obligations of individuals as members of the family working team and it could be spent only according to the norms obligatory in the local community for different age groups. The style of work and way of spending time free from work were interlocked in this system to form one cultural unity. The rhythm and nature of preoccupations during leisure were determined by intensity of work and its duration in different seasons of the year. In case of unmarried young people, especially males, the style of spending spare time was somewhat less rigorous. They enjoyed greater social mobility in leisure time.

The social content of leisure was, of course, connected with the general substance of peasant culture. Older people spent their spare time on chatting, gossiping with neighbours, the young people-on dancing and amusements. It may be said that, like the style of work, the way of spending leisure time was also "open" to the local community, with the stress on social, collective rather than individual elements.

The content and forms of spending semi-leisure time – a frequent category in this milieu – showed a similar "socialization". It consisted of various forms of work-game, work-amusement which fulfilled productive, collective recreation and social functions.

The way of spending leisure or semi-leisure time may be differentiated according to sex, age, position occupied in the family, division of labour. It seems however that no considerable differentiations according to wealth can be observed. And the main role was played by forms based on neighbourly or kinship ties.

The strong family, neighbourly and local ties were perhaps the basic elements which cemented the rural community. The bonds were based on a strong feeling of local indentification and a certain feeling of enemity with respect to other communities. The highly developed family and local ties constituted, at the same time, a form of strict social control of the individual and the family. Belonging to a given family "by birth" determined the place, and even the social role, of the individual within the local community; whereas self-identification by one's personal traits and qualities was very difficult.

The emancipated group was characterized by extended and more differentiated forms and content of leisure. This pertains primarily to such forms as reading, listening to the radio, attending amateur theatre performances, sight-seeing, attending meetings of political, economic, educational-cultural organizations and some forms of self education. These forms of spending leisure took the direction of social and cultural development of personality.

As far as the content of leisure is concerned one may speak of their continuation, modernization and introduction of entirely new elements. Thus, all the rural youth organizations while accepting peasant cultural traditions, intellectualize their content and change their social character (for example, harvest wreathes were offered to village elders instead of landowners), festivities are linked with educational-cultural and political ideas of a cross local or even general national character. While remaining open to the local community, the way of spending leisure time has also become open to the global society.

We should also stress the significance of increased social mobility of those groups on the village-to-village plane (for instance, information about the economic and cultural achievements of other villages and communes) as well as on the village-to-town (excursions, attending conferences and meetings).

To sum up, the transformations in the group of emancipated peasants may be defined as adaptation of the basic peasant model to new forms and content as modernization of the rural way of life. But this was not of a universal character, although the economic and socio-cultural peasant centres brought into being by the activity of the peasant socio-political movement exerted a great influence on villages with a lower level of institutional development. Objective factors of the rural, political and economic situation faced here the social and cultural resistance of the traditional environment, which slowed down the rate and universality of the changes.

Let us characterize now generally the "classical" peasant way of life of the rural community in the inter-war period. That way of life was characterized by subordination to the requirements of the land and the farm and by dispositional character of work.

Peasant culture and the way of life associated with it were distinguished in various spheres by stability of behaviour and a great degree of internal harmony, despite of considerable differences in wealth and prestige. The classical way of life of a peasant was characterized by conformism of attitudes, thought and behaviour. This gave the well adapted individual a feeling of safety and stability even in case of serious economic difficulties. The way of life of the peasant community was also characterized by a high degree of public control and intolerance toward individuals unadapted to, or violating, the community norms.

That way of life was internally directed, open to the local community and closed to a considerable extent to everything outside the local circle.

This was associated with great friendliness within the group and marked distrust of strangers. This style did not stress individuality or personality but emphasized the affiliation to the family and local group.

Within the family the way of life was, in general, uniform, but considerably dependent on sex, age and the family member's social position. Here too, not individuality and personality of its members but of the head of the family (the father) were stressed. There seems to have been a high degree of satisfaction connected with belonging to the local group and with the life ambitions connected with it.

Another characteristic of the traditional peasant community and its way of life is the fact that it was geared to the continuation of its values.

As we have seen above, the way of life of the emancipated group accepted many elements of the rural cultural tradition (particularly in relation to the family and local community). But they extended it by modern technical and organizational elements and by contents adopted from general culture. This signified a considerable openness to nonpeasant cultural patterns which was hampered by the objective rural situation as by the conservative peasant masses. Contrary to that of the majority of peasants, the way of life of this group was marked by considerable nonconformism, which often placed it in a conflicting situation with its environment. This was associated with dissatisfaction with affiliation to the group and was expressed in formal (institutional, organizational) or informal activity aimed to raise the socio-economic status of the local group and the entire peasant society.

It may be said that the way of life of the emancipated group was oriented on the acceptance of the most valuable elements of the old peasant culture and the general national culture within the frameworks of the basic rural way of life. In its general character this constituted a change connected with the emergence of local leading groups. It is significant that such advanced local communities could be found far from the transportation routes or cities.

The groups of the emancipated peasants played an essential role in the transformation of the local communities and in the country's social life. Their influence was dominant in some traditional local peasant communities and the general character and way of life they represented had a considerable impact on other villages.

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The peasant village as a whole, and the rural local communities, entered the period of rapid changes after World War II as a result of the agrarian reform, industrialization and urbanization accompanied by the occupational stratification of the village, dissemination of education and culture, technological changes such as electrification, mechanization, motorization as the communities differentiated to a certain degree in their socio-economic and institutional development within a basically uniform culture, the peasant culture. How shall we characterize the post-war socio-cultural changes connected with transformation of the way of life?

It should be noted that the socio-cultural changes of the post-war period are not only more universal than those in the past, but their spatial expansion is different and their sources are more differentiated. Some regions and local communities develop because of their location near cities or industrial centres where considerably close contacts with urbanized culture are attainable. The development of others is rather due to the modernization of agriculture and diffusion of service institutions.

As for the sphere of values, the most essential is the departure of peasants, from the "agrocentric" system of values (which determines "by birth" the individual's place in society and his occupation) in favour of a professional conception of life based either on a non-agricultural vocation or farming as a profession.

It is obvious that under the changed, modern conditions the former specific defense mechanisms and those securing rural culture have ceased to operate or their influence has been reduced. Thus the idealization of the environmental and cultural traits disappears and is replaced by evaluation of one's own community as compared with others.

Furthermore it appears that even a reverse situation has taken place in some groups, especially among the rural youth in regions of rapid industrialization. There is a certain idealization of non-peasant cultural values, particularly those connected with urban pattern of life and the values of employment outside agriculture, expressed in the strong tendency to seek social advance primarily through occupations not connected with work on the land. The former philosophy of the unchangeable peasant destiny has certainly ceased to operate even in the most traditional communities. It has been replaced by the universal desire of peasants and villages to catch up with, become the equals to other communities and occupational groups in all spheres of life. Land seems to have lost its significance as the factor determining one's place in society, although there may still apper differences between regions or generations as well as certain relicts of the past[5].

The elements of professionalization of the farmer's vocation[6] (education and instruction by institutions and the mass media, improved organization of the labour process, specialization, etc.) are being intensified in the individual farm, in the community (development of agricultural service institutions) and on the extra-local level.

Personality patterns have become differentiated. Two basic patterns may be distinguished among the population engaged in agriculture: the dynamic, expansive pattern of the „good modern farmer" (the feeling of professional identification may be very strong here) and the pattern of the nondynamic, backward farmer (shortage of manpower, underinvestment, traditionalism, old age, instrumental functions of the farm connected with children's career outside agriculture). One observes also a pattern of a part-time farmer working in industry or in an office.

Work in agriculture also becomes a relative an comparable value with other occupations. It may be said that conditions operate here associated with worker's culture or culture of an occupational type. We will now characterize the contemporary style of work in the rural areas, in agriculture.

In our further considerations we will deal with the more dynamically developing farms with strong professional characteristics which does not mean, however, that the more or less traditional style of work, described above, has already disappeared altogether. Some of traits of the traditional peasant community are decaying, others are continuing side by side with the development of the characteristics of a modernized peasant style of work. Changes in this respect, as in the way of life, are taking place here under a variously interpreted slogan of modernity.

The conception of industriousness still contains universal traits such as reliability, precision, thriftiness, formerly strongly emphasized but less appealing at present. The stress falls today not on industriousness in little things but primarily on the dynamism and élan of work, e.g., on swiftness, resourcefulness, purposefulness, versatility, organization of the labour process, rational calculation. This is connected with changes in the technology and scale of production. In other words, the stress is laid on the traits associated with good husbandry, ability to deal with problems, ease of making advantageous contacts. The principle "maximum output with minimum input" is dominant today. The most desirable personality traits of farmers, besides physical fitness, are: organizational ability, creative initiative, deeper professional knowledge. This is then release of individual initiative in work and extension of its intellectual set-up that involves specific abilities and personality traits. The trait of being distinguished in the community by one's work also seems to have changed. It is now possible to win distinction for a style of work even if it is incompatible with that of the family or community. For example, a young person takes over the farm because he „has better brains" for farming than his father and is apt to experiment. The old style of work is sometimes for no apparent reason rejected, especially among the young generation. There are examples of rejection of the total experience acquired in the past and accepting only bookish knowledge and that coming from the mass media often without knowing how to apply it to the conditions of one's farm.

The conditions of work and the traits of industriousness become nowadays subjects of observation and criticism. They are compared critically with work in other occupations, for work is no longer a value beyond any discussion. One can speak in this connection of a certain psychological threshold in relation to such features of work, as its duration or arduousness.

In the case of farms which have exceeded a certain material level there sometimes begin to operate with greater force some humanistic factors which oppose working beyond one's strength. People begin to avoid hard work, which is expressed by the stereotype "to get something out of life" (of course, life outside work).

Dealing with personality-constituting values of work, we have probably to do with emerging of an ethos of work based on the former peasant cultural tradition of solid work, and, on the other hand, on accepting and disseminating a rational and efficient style of work, based on ever higher technology accompanied by individual accomplishment and culture which enables self-realization also outside the sphere of work. Work is no longer regarded as one's "fate", but it still constitutes a high moral motivation as a duty to the family and also as a civic, social obligation. Individual initiative and ingenuity, the extension of individual attitudes in agricultural work in general influences the shaping of a more individualized style of work (in respect to personal characteristics and know-how) which is at the same time more-closed to the environment. Special know-how brings financial profits and higher prestige. A competition for professional success weakens, or even renders impossible, the former style of work based on neighbour aid or local ties. The reified relations are more and more frequent. New social ties are developing as a result of using socialized mechanical equipment and establishing production teams by individual farmers.

In relation to the changes connected with agriculture's material base, the significance of the transformation of the work implements should be stressed. This involves both acceleration of the rate of work and the possibility to increase production. Electrification, for instance, changes not only the technique of the household economy (electric sewing machine and iron, washing machine, refrigerator) and of farmstead work (power engines), but has caused far-reaching changes in the organization of the labour process: work schedules, distribution of duties among family members at different hours or for longer periods. Mechanization of part of field work (the tractor, harvester, sheaf binder, excavator and other machines) have diminished purely physical tasks and increased the rhythm and productivity of labour. This is especially evident in such jobs as ploughing by tractor or collecting grain by sheaf binder or combine. „Return to the horse?, commented a young farmer on the increase in price of tractor fuel, „at first, after the increase, I thought I would plough by horse; but no, that is impossible. I have neither time nor patience for that". "This year I mowed traditionally, by sheaf-binder", stated a young Bydgoszcz farmer in 1972 in justification at not using a combine because of constant rain. This is not just a change in the style of work but in mentality. The great majority of farmers has gained a considerable knowledge of modern technology; many of them know not only how to use but also how to repair even complicated agricultural equipment.

The use of machinery in field work and increased rate of work and productivity broke down, to a great extent, the former rhythm of agricultural labour which consisted in systematic, similar activities of all families in different seasons of the year and at the same time of the day. Now the farmer goes to the field when it is most convenient (of course, continuing to observe agrotechnical deadlines) or when it is his turn when he uses collectively owned machines. The rhythm of work is different when collectively owned machines are used, since such services are planned on the local community, or even wider, scale. There is a great demand for agricultural services of high technical standard, particularly in regions of high yields of the marketable agricultural products.

Despite the growing scale of production and increased work, one may speak of a decreasing tendency to do farm work on the part of family members. This is related to the general cultural changes, with changing production technique and the more rapid rhythm of work (one does not "hang around" for weeks on the same job), but first of all perhaps with changes of consciousness and values. This is especially evident in the work of young and adult children of the farm-owner and in the general changes in the process of socialization through work. Their attitude to working on the farm has mainly been replaced by a trend to combine work with education or a play proper to age. But this process is also complex, depending mainly on what trade farmers want their children to choose. The general tendency is to protect young generation from hard work, to assure them a happier childhood and youth. At the same time the severe rule of socialization of children through work, even of overwork, continues to operate in some farm families. This is sometimes necessitated by the shortage of manpower. Not a small role here is played by the attitude of farmers' children following non-agricultural occupational patterns according to which people ought to have some leisure; the farmers' children want to have the same rights as children of people employed outside the farm. This suggests the far-reaching individuation of the style of work, depending on the type of family and dispositions of family members, what is connected with an increase of individuation of the farm family's way of life. These tendencies are most clearly observable in industrialized regions with greater occupational differentiation.

There has been relatively little change in the division of labour among family members, especially among woman and men. The housekeeping and bringing up the chidren continue to be the woman's domain. Men, whose work is now highly mechanized (mainly field work), are very reluctant to participate in little mechanized animal husbandry. True, many women now engage in social, economic and cultural activity in their local communities, but they confront resistance here in the family (the husband, his endangered prestige) and in the local community. The model of a partner marriage and family, meets with considerable resistance in the peasant environment, although rural women have always been full-valued partners in work.

The present-day farm in its "external" style of work is becoming ever more open to the global society due to the system of objective relations (contracting and financial-credit systems, utilization of socialized means and facilities, etc.) and subjective ties. There has already developed a widespread awareness of the general social utility and role of farmer's profession and the consequent increase of egalitarian aspirations, of the desire to achieve all privileges accessible to other social groups. This is therefore, to a growing degree a social consciousness which is open to the broader collectivity and, at the same time, more and more closed to the local group. As pointed out above, this is in a greater and greater degree due to economic competition and other elements of the style of work associated with the professional conception of life.

It is doubtful whether one can still apply the concept "peasant style of work" in reference to an extending group of developed farms. All this tends clearly towards a style of work based on modern technology and organization of the labour process and motorization – hence in the direction of universal patterns.

As to the contemporary tendencies in the sphere of leisure, changes in this area depend on general cultural change and are connected with modification of the style of work. The process of autonomization of the individual in his work is reflected in his autonomization in the culture of spending leisure time.

The opinions on leisure as a value have changed considerably. This is a complex question, conditioned by economic and socio-psychological factors. Some groups of the rural population, especially the young generation still not responsibile for the farm, consider independence of their time-schedule from farm and family as essential as individualized choice of its content. Non-acceptance of leisure, still present among certain groups, rarely stems from old cultural traditions or the criteria of values of the former peasant. It is most often connected with the orientation towards dynamic development and high productivity, with the traits of a new type of entrepreneur. The rejection of leisure (and associated cult of intensive work) function here as elements of raising the standard of living and of modernization[7]. The second attitude differs basically from the first, which does not mean rejection of the idea of leisure but is rather a socially conditioned necessity or is linked with professional ambition like in other environments and professions.

The break-up of the former attitude toward manual work and adoption of the modern cultural conception of leisure, as indicated above, stimulates in the peasant community an awareness of the values of life realized not only in, but also outside of work, of individual self-realization in non-production values or values little connected with production. The emergent new personality pattern admits participation in universal culture, which is a trait of modernization of the community's way of life and which raises the rank of the farmer's labour and profession.

Access to leisure and the possibility of spending it attractively is today one of the most important social problems in the rural areas, for it may be a psycho-social factor of accelerated modernization of agriculture.

The aspiration to cultural values during leisure may now be realized in the rural areas on two levels: the social (local or extra-local) and at home. Only a dozen years ago or so the social infrastructure of modern culture in most local communities aroused a feeling of evironmental handicap (particularly among the young generation). The divergence between the world of acknowledged values and culture and the social reality created sometimes a feeling of cultural backwardness, of incomplete sense of life, and a conviction of the lower value of the rural community as a milieu of life and work. It even shattered in a certain sense, the belief in general change and advancement of the village. The situation seems to have changed now. For example, recent autobiographies by country population show a decrease of town-country cultural tensions (formerly a strongly stressed characteristic), probably influenced to a great extent by the diffusion of television at home, improved transportation, etc. The irreflective cultural fascination with the city because of the attractive facilities to spend leisure there also seems to have weakened. The conviction that "it is possible to live a cultural life in the village, too", and that "it is possible to be a cultured person also in a village" seems to gain popularity.

Radio, TV, the press reach the most remote villages bringing the inhabitants beyond the horizons of their village and region, who at least by their participation in mass culture, go outside the local community. The growing influence of the society at large and its culture on the personality of rural man is indisputable. The world of modern knowledge and culture has become accessible to virtually all local communities and this is associated with the atrophy of past cultural patterns. But it also seems that the rapid changes in the way of life which have brought marked advances in many spheres have also caused a certain cultural disorientation which is connected with a partial loss of social identity of the local community.

Generally speaking, there is a diffusion in the rural areas of a social participation in contemporary culture, in the broad sense, and the parallel emergence of enlightened and cultural strata also among all groups of the rural population[8]. The former, relatively uniform, system of values, aspirations and patterns is thus repelled, what contributes to the elimination of the cultural isolation of the village. The manner of spending leisure time (in behaviour or aspiration) may be said to reflect most clearly the unifying influence of the contemporary culture. The rural cultural development even in its limits basically coincides with the level of the global society. The fundamental tendency of development is toward a uniform style of culture and to the adoption of urban facilities.

Does this mean that the cultural values of the rural community are today exclusively based on patterns coming from without, on urban facilities? Despite the tendency to separate from the former world of rural tradition (in all its differentiation, both valuable and worthless), the break is undoubtedly selective. Some important values of the peasant cultural tradition continue to be cultivated perhaps in other forms, on a higher economic and cultural level. Some old cultural traits have been preserved till now, e.g. song and dance groups, folk-art, etc.

Cultural tradition of a community undoubtedly modifies to a greater or lesser extent both attitudes and behaviour in that cultural melting-pot, but that is still a rather vague phenomenon at the present stage of development. It does not seem to lead to very constructive and individualized aspirations and behaviour and may even lead to the destruction of the creative personal ambitions of the former peasant culture. The temporary stage of satisfaction with passive reception may be followed by a tendency (though not universal) to creative participation in culture, particularly since such traditions are still alive or are easy to revive in the rural local community. It is possible on this foundation to reconstruct and restore the social values and prestige of folklore, of everything constituting original, unrepeatable wealth and beauty.

Elimination of city-country distinctions and urbanrural cultural equalization do not mean uniformization of culture or discrimination against properly understood traditions of a community or a region. The possibility of full participation in contemporary culture while retaining and cultivating the characteristic regional or local cultural features seems especially valuable from the viewpoint of proper social diferentiation, constituting the cultural wealth of the nation. Even the "primitive" elements in the tradition may be valuable, since they are no longer by themselves expressions of primitivism of the community and of its isolation, but of a conscious reference to tradition, of a quest for social individuality and authentism.

How can the changes in the rural way of life be characterized in general? First of all it may be said that while such changes are universal, communities already advanced in their „peasant" development (individual and collective) in the inter-war period are more receptive than those which entered the modern rhythm of change as classical peasant communities. While changes contemporarily tend in the direction of universal patterns, though with local, professional or other modifications, this is still a situation in statu nascendi. Certain elements of the old system remain, but they are not cohesive: some have changed their functions and readapted to the new conditions, while others serve as relics in some spheres, groups or generations. In the absence of any counteraction they will be limited in the future. It will be due to the fact that the values of peasant culture, the structure and specific philosophy, especially in the „traditional" aspect, proved unable to withstand urbanized content.

The values of the peasant culture in its modern expression have been adopted (especially in the collective spheres of life: institutions and organizations) as part of contemporary development and have extended to a greater number of local communities. This constitutes a transition, in a general sense, from a stable way of life marked by internal harmony, conformism of attitudes, thinking and behaviour which gave the well adapted member of the local community a feeling of security, to a more differentiated and diversified way of life but with a considerably reduced feeling of social security.

As pointed out above, the general orientation of the culture towards "change", evident in the rural areas does not mean that the process is uniform in all spheres. It actually signifies a certain continuation of former values, but not simply or directly, especially in the spheres which are by their nature less conspicuous, less external. More disposed to accept the change are young people and groups with loosened ties to agriculture (part-time farmers) and the most disposed ones the farmers running specialized farms with strong enterpreneurial characteristics as well as living in regions in close proximity to cities and industry.

The modern rural community, more or less differentiated occupationally and culturally, does not seem to condition the individual as strongly as did the former homogeneous peasant environment, although there may still appear differences in this respect between the more urbanized and more agricultural regions. The evolution of a good part of local communities already makes it difficult to speak of their way of life as of a peasant nature.

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WŁADYSŁAW ADAMSKI

PROCESSES OF RATIONALIZATION OF SOCIAL ATTITUDES OF POLISH PEASANTS

I. THE AIM AND METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH

The principal aim of the present research is to investigate the processes of rationalization of social attitudes among Polish peasants. The main objective in defining the subject, choosing the research devices, and classifying and analyzing the obtained material was to detect, among the general symptoms of changes in the farmer's state of consciousness and in his forms of behaviour, the basic manifestations of such attitudes and behaviour, which can be hypothetically explained as caused by different political situations, differences in the economic and industrial levels of various regions, and different age groups.

In accordance with the methodological approach dominating in similar research works, the first field investigated was that of diversified reactions of owners and usufructuaries of petty farms, the reactions which are most visible in the period of the transition of the peasant farm from the natural or seminatural system of production to that of supplying for a specific market. Assuming that some peasant families quickly and eagerly accept innovations which reach their farms while others accept them more slowly, even with some resistance, we have tried to distinguish, on one hand, the more or less rational types of attitudes and forms of behaviour, which are the result of extensive adaptation to new conditions, and, on the other hand, the attitudes and behaviour of the traditional conservative group which, without consideration, repudiates innovations, or accepts them only with great resistance.

Although often verified in Western Europe and the U.S., the general concept, methodology and technique of research work in the field of rationalization of farmers' attitudes to the process of industrialization and urbanization[1], cannot be applied to the contemporary Polish conditions without thorough modifications. The necessity of introducing changes and addenda arose out of the author's initial assumption that the farreaching and visible at a glance distinctive features of the objective economic, social and political situation of peasants under the socialist form of government must lead to an understandably specific course of universal processes of the rationalization of attitudes and forms of behaviour. The specific dilemmas and "crossroads" which every Polish farmer and the rural society as a whole faced during the post-war period with its social and political changes can be best observed in the changing attitudes towards the rural areas as the place of employment and residence, and in the manner of treating farms and socially-owned farm equipment. But while the consequences of the first change are mainly expressed in a tendency to country city migration (this includes the large intermediate category of person with dual occupations, i.e. peasant-worker, etc.). the second problem primarly concerns those peasants who have decided to bind their future to the rural area and the farm, the polarization of whose attitudes occurs within a traditional context, namely the farmer's relation to his own farm and the attempts to socialize the farm.

The basic questions, which the research work tried to answer, were aimed at determining the following: how do Polish peasants react to the multilateral influences of socialist industrialization, to the strong government policy concerning the rural area and agriculture, and to the penetration into the villages of non-traditional modes of work culture. What was important, from both the practical and scientific points of view, was to make an attempt to clarify not only the universal non-political, but also the specifically Polish contents of the processes of rationalization of farmers' attitudes and modes of behaviour, which are occurring in a rather exceptional period, characterized by an accumulation of intensive economical, political, technological, social and cultural transformations. Under such conditions the observations of changes in the social attitudes of farmers can be used to confront both the general programmatic concepts of socialism and the concrete "models of rebuilding the rural area" with the actual developmental tendencies of attitudes and forms of behaviour of particular agricultural groups.

II. THE BASIS OF SELECTION AND THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TESTED GROUP

The research work was conducted in two stages. During the first stage, held in the fall of 1968, a group of 825 peasants, managing farms of two or more hectares was interviewed by means of a classificatory questionnaire. This was an attempt to select from the census land-owners and farm usufructuaries from three random-chosen districts (Kazimierza Wielka, Wyrzysk, Złotoryja) which respectively represent a low, a medium and a high level of economic development. (The first drawing was made from a list of

391 districts, aligned according to the synthetic index of IFiS showing economic development, and was based on source material from GUS and Komisja Planowania). The geographical location of the chosen districts and the cultural level of the farmer-peasant inhabitants entitles us to treat them as for our aims, sufficiently typical representatives of the main regions, distinguished both by their level of economic development and the distinctness of modern and traditional cultural influences.

The largest concentration of privately owned farmland exists in districts of a medium level of development, in which 25 per cent of the farms consist of 15 or more hectares and only 11.6 p.c. of the farms consist of 2–5 hectares. The least developed district (68.1 per cent of the farmers are 2–5 hectares, and no farms of 15 or more hectares) represents a contrasting structure, while the most developed district holds an intermediate position. The most conservative agricultural district is characterized by the highest stability of village inhabitants: 94 p.c. of the families interviewed were born in their present place of abode. In districts of a medium level of development this percentage is 52. In industrialized districts the farmers are mainly settlers from the eastern territories and from central Poland. Because of colonization they found themselves in the most relatively advanced conditions of industrialization and urbanization while at the same time they were subjected to a cultural heritage similar to or lower than that of the underdeveloped districts. This can be see from the level of school education of the testees: in an underdeveloped district 29 p.c. of the heads of families have completed four classes. 10 p.c. have completed eight or more classes while in industrialized districts the respective percentages are 53 and 70.

If we consider the question of non-agricultural employment, 42 p.c. of farm householder in highly developed districts have at least one person who receives a salary from a non-agricultural form of employment, while in districts of low and medium development the percentage is 13. The age group of farm usufructuaries is the highest advantage of poorly developed districts (26 p.c. of the inhabitants are in the 20–40 year age group, in districts of medium development the percentage is 14, while in highly developed districts the percentage is only 10).

During the second stage of the research work, young people from two of the previous groups of farming families were tested. In December 1970 all young people from the age of 14 onwards, who were expected by their parents to succeed them on the farm, were interviewed usually with an identical questionnaire. This time, however, for economic reasons the medium-developed district was excluded from the research work. The tests were thus conducted on 261 peasant "successors" from the most and the least industrialized districts. In highly developed communities 36 p.c. of the families were characterized by a lack of successors prepared to accept the farm, while this situation was true of only 23 p.c. of the families in the underdeveloped districts. The age group of the testees showed that approximately 38 p.c. of them were over 25 years of age and 25 p.c. were over 30.

III. MORE IMPORTANT RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH WORK

How are the attitudes, aims, and aspirations of the tested group expressed, and how do they relate to the distinctive overall conditions of development of the rural area under a socialist form of government? We will now attempt to give a synthesized answer to these questions, limiting ourselves to the basic types of rationalization of social attitudes and forms of behaviour.

1. THE FARMERS' ATTITUDES TO LAND OWNERSHIP AND TO FARM-MANAGEMENT

The changes of attitude of Polish peasants examined in the perspective of the last 30 years, have undoubtedly deep significance and great importance in their consequences for the whole society. What has for ages distinguished the peasants from the rest of society, especially from the inhabitants of cities, was a set of socio-psychological images concealed under such household words as "peasant sense", "peasant mentality" or "peasant life style". The resulting different attitudes and types of behaviour of this social group were particularly evident in the field of motivations to produce. According to the unanimous statements of the majority of rural sociologists of the prewar period, farming differed from other productive trades in that for its own employees, i.e. the peasant family, farming was, first of all, a "way of life" and not an enterprise aiming at maximum gain and profit[2]. The reasons for such assumptions arose from the fact that in contrast to other professional social groups, peasants distinguished themselves by exceptional attachment to their land and were constantly attempting to maintain or, if possible, to increase its size.

In the farmer's life, land had a duoble function: it guaranteed present material existence and was a safeguard of the family's future and at the same time it was the fundamental means of fulfilling social and prestige needs. The cultural homogeneity of traditional rural societies and also the limited contact with other communities made it difficult for the peasant to compare his society with a non-rural environment. As a result of the isolation of peasant culture, which continued from one generation to the next, the highest ideal for the peasant was the popular model of a rich farmer[3].

What is the main tendency of changes in the farmer's attitude to his land and household in the post-war period? Representative statistical research work shows a quick, sometimes even a sudden, decrease of the traditionally strong peasant attachment to private or usufructed land[4]. Also cogent monographical studies (private ownership of land ceased being a basic factor of social importance in the group, and the criterion of the development of group hierarchy),[5] as well as research based on journal-type material ("progressive tendencies create negative attitudes towards the land, depreciating both its social and prestige function, as well as that of the economic safeguard")[6] testify to the degeneration in the farmer's state of consciousness toward this basic agricultural factor.

Unfortunately, we do not have a sufficiently detailed scale of international comparison in this field. It seems, however, that without risking error it can be said that the degree of depreciation of the social value of land and agricultural workshops is relatively higher in Poland than in non-socialist countries of a similar economic structure and with similar influences of industrialization and urbanization on rural districts.

How are the farmers' changes of attitude toward their own agricultural-workshops expressed? The following items of the questionnaire were accepted as a criterion: How should a farmer who, because of advanced age or bad health, faces increasing difficulties in the management of his farm, act? Because of this indirect manner of questioning, it was assumed that the questionnaire would give reliable data about the farmers' private opinions. Direct questions, concerning the interviewed person (eg.: What would you do in a similar situation?) completely confirmed this assumption – the number of answers for the first and second question were almost identical, differences appearing only in the case of undecided persons who were twice as numerous in the second instance.

The progression in Table 1 of the possible ways of handing down the management of the farm and the farm itself forms a scale, in which the first proposition shows a highly traditional attitude, the third and fourth are expressions of advanced rationalism, while the second and fifth are manifestations of intermediates behaviour. According to this interpretation of the results, we can state that in the tested group only an insignificant percentage of farmers demonstrate an extremely traditional attitude toward their farms. About half the group manifests highly rational attitudes; the rest, however (about 40 p.c.), demonstrate an intermediate attitude. Of those who wish to hand down the farm and its management, two groups of farmers must be distinguished: those who combined the possibility of complete resignation from the position of manager with handing down all farm-related matters to their inheritors, and those who either because they lack heirs or for other reasons, think it appropriate to hand over their farms to the state in exchange for old-age pensions.

Advocates of extremely rationalistic attitudes, however, are both those who seem to identify themselves with rather prosperous farms, as well as their opposites, owners of petty farms. This is caused by the existence of two types of rationalized attitudes in farmers: the first type is the

Table 1

Opinions concerning the way of handing down a farm and the position of manager

What should a farmer do if he is unable to manage his farm properly?	Percentage answers concerning the farm	
	in general	one's own
	$N = 825$	$N = 825$
1. Keep both the farm and his position as its manager	6.1	6.7
2. Keep part of the farm and position as manager	34.7	36.6
3. Hand down both the management and the farm	30.1	29.3
4. Turn it over to the state in exchange for a retirement pension	23.4	18.1
5. No opinion, or other solutions	3.8	9.3

result of an intergenerational replacement of the position of the farm manager; the second, through resignation from the managerial position, is equivalent to the liquidation of a socially unprofitable agricultural workshop. The factor which combines these two attitudes and justifies their being called rationalistic, is that both situations are characterized by the loosening of the farmer's emotional ties toward his land and his position as manager. Both these types of farmers consciously realize that the farm as well as its management are only a means and not an end in itself. Therefore, if one group decides to remain on the farm and continue to work as its manager, while the other rejects this value, then the difference lies only in their estimation of their chances and possibilities of success in this field, and not in their fundamental approach to life.

For traditionalists, however, retention of both the property and the position of manager is a supreme value. Therefore, they do not even allow themselves to think that if the duties of manager become too difficult, they should hand them down to a younger, more qualified generation or leave the farm to the state's disposal. Fortunately, the advocates of extremely traditional attitudes belong to the insignificant minority of land usufructuaries.

The main source of inhibitions of the course of rationalizatory processes in petty farming should be seen in the existence of a group representing intermediate opinions. In a situation of clearly inefficient management of the farm this group advocates halfway course, that is handing down part of the land to their heirs or leasing the land. Why is the halfway solution, advocated by one third of the questioned farmers, so popular? It is only because of the possibly still-present emotional ties with the farm and a strong belief in the traditional peasant myth of independence, which the ownership of land allegedly guarantees? Certainly these factors are present. But the resistance to radical solutions in such an important social matter as the retirement of an inefficient manager, probably inheres in contemporary social and economic realities – in the as yet minimal attractiveness of the retirement pension when a farm, particularly a small one, is submitted to the state as well as in the discouraging (even at present) social position of old people who have handed down their farms to their children. An additional factor is the present trend to limit the area of the farm in order to take up non-agricultural employment.

The rapid rhythm of the process of rationalizing the Polish farmer's attitude towards land and farm has both positive and negative consequences for farm development. It appears that the advantages run along two, seemingly incompatible tracs – through a subordination of the farm to the needs of the family, which leads to: (a) either its intensive economic development, strengthened by the owner's keen desire to hand the land down to his heir at the proper time, or (b) to a neglect of farm matters, and a readiness to submit it to the state in exchange for a retirement pension for the owner. The extremely traditional tendency which rejects both these solutions is now rapidly disappearing. What is at present a problem of practical and scientific nature is the unusually strong preference of the testees for the type of instrumentalization of farmers' attitudes toward land and farm which finds its expression in the tendency to limit the area of the owned property.

The counterpoint for such disadvantageous (for agriculture as a whole) solutions can be found in the subjects' change of attitude toward land as a social benefit; contrary to the peasant tradition, the majority of the contemporary Polish farmers disapprove of bad management which arises from the behavior of farmers, and in such cases they see the need for far-reaching state intervention into the innate problems of the farm.

2. THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS SOCIALLY OWNED MEANS OF PRODUCTION ON PEASANTS FARMS

An extremely useful point in the rationalization of the testees attitudes proved to be individualism – socialization questions, which induced the farmers to declare themselves either for state-owned or for private farming equipment as the highest guarantee of the best economical results. The tested group was asked to express their opinion on the question: Under what conditions does a farmer achieve the best results in farming? This was an attempt to establish the farmers' preferences on the basic means of acquiring farming necessities and essential productive services.

In the question to which the answers are presented in Table 2, the testees were asked to choose one of five possibilities. The answer scale items reflect two contrastive solutions: one for extreme individualists, the second for persons who advocate paying for the services of socialized institutions for fulfilling the productive needs of the farm. It should be kept in mind, however, that this diversity of opinions is probably the result of the influence of two combined factors: 1. the actual state of particular farm's private production equipment and 2. the prevailing aspirations and cultural aims of the farmers.

On the basis of the peasants' attitudes toward farming equipment, two types of farmers are apparent: strict individualists, and moderate advocates of socialization. The first group seems to subscribe to an idealized type of absolutely independent farmer, which is best seen in the firm belief that reliance on one's own strength and farm equipment is the best way to obtain high productive results. The second group expounds a rather different opinion, namely that the best results under present day conditions are obtained by using indispensible productive services, even though these may meet only a small portion of farm needs.

Table 2

Differentiation of opinions as to the most effective ways of farming

Opinions about the most effective ways of farming	Answers percentage $N = 825$
1. Reliance mainly on one's own abilities, experience, and farming equipment	44.4
2. Asking neighbours for help and advice	5.3
3. Partial use of the services of the Farmer's Association and of the services of other socialized institutions	36.6
4. Maximum dependence on the services of the Farmer's Association and other institutions	12.7
5. Other possibilities, or no opinion	4.0

This division of attitudes and opinions regarding the effectiveness of state owned and private farms the use of farming equipment on peasant farms is certainly peculiar, and conditioned not only by the general influences of our social form of government, but also by Poland's unique process of gradual institutionalization and socialization of petty farms.

3. ATTITUDE TO THE PERSPECTIVE OF STRUCTURAL CHANGES OF PEASANT FARMING

The testees ideas about the future structure of agriculture, and especially their opinions about the family system in peasant farming have been the most vital source of different opinions. Specialists are interested both in the actual state of preferences, the dynamics of changes, and in the causative factors of evolutionary trends in peasant attitudes. In the process of our research it was most difficult to determine the trends which for years have been moulding the peasants' opinions about particular ways of reconstructing agriculture. Although detailed comparison has not been possible with a high degree of certainty, with the help of results obtained by B. Gołębiowski in 1959 and 1960 we have been able to identify two closely linked subsequent courses of development of the Polish farmer's attitudes and opinions.

As appears in Table 3, in the three periods we can observe: (a) a strong trend in the reduction of the number of peasants convinced that the family farms is unchangeable, and (b) a clearly increasing number of peasants who see the future as dominated by the socialized type of farm.

Table 3

The future structure of farming according to the opinions of peasants in 1959 and 1960

The future of farming as seen by testees lies in	Research work done in		
	1959	1960	1969
	percentage of testees		
1. Private farms — such as the present	49.2	58.7	18.1
2. Private farms, cooperating with the institutional system	25.6	10.9	24.2
3. A productive cooperation	2.2	2.1	9.7
4. State owned enterprises	5.6	.8	17.2
5. No opinion, or a different one	16.8	26.3	23.3
6. No answer	0.6	1.2	8.7

The results of the research in three districts allow us to state that the number of farmers anticipating the socialization of the majority of peasant farms within the next 20–30 years exceeds one-fourth of the entire farming population, and is larger than the number of those who see the future as a continuation of the present conditions.

Investigating the reasons for such attitudes towards structural changes, the tested farmers' objective financial position was the only factor considered. What must be pointed out is that the tendency to anticipate socialization of peasant farms is not connected in any significant way with farm size. Attitudes favoring socialization coincide with a higher level of the farmer's general education, with the farms colonial origin, and partially, with the usage of socially-owned equipment in farm work.

The analysis did not include the psycho-sociological sphere of motivations, which influenced certain opinions of the testees on the future structure of peasant farms is not connected in any significant way with a farm size. a much closer examination. What seems of specially interest would be to empirically verify the classification which has only been hypothetically sketched in our research, of the types of motivations which would favour rapid reorganization of agriculture. The analysis of answers to the following question can serve as a hypothesis for further research work in this field: whether prosocialistic attitudes in connection with the farm's future arise, and, if so, to what degree, out of: 1. a negative estimate of profit possibilities of the peasant farm and a tendency to leave farming; 2. a passive subordination to the objective developmental tendencies of agriculture in socialistic countries; and 3. constructive criticism of family farm, which leads to the farm's modernization according to socialist principles.

The above mentioned tendencies of farmers, who represent the typical Polish rural society, to exhibit changes of attitude, clearly show regional differences. As was assumed during the research program the dominant attitudes of behaviour, determined by the socio-political situation of all the inhabitants of Polish rural areas, are still partially dependent on specific environmental characteristics, conditioned by the distinctive economic situation of each region, the structure of its peasant and its cultural heritage. The regional specificity finds its reflection both in the productive activities of the farmer and in his attitudes and aspirations.

The strongest attachment to private land and the farm, reflected in productive activities and in social attitudes, is noted in the inhabitants of underdeveloped regions, which, at the same time, are most heavily subjected to the influences of traditional peasant culture.

In such regions, where numerous petty farms, untouched by post-war changes, are most dominant and the influence of industrialization and urbanization is comparatively weak, the farmers' tendencies to abandon farming appear to be only one-third as strong as in well developed districts. This relationship is also consistantly reaffirmed in other attitude determinants, that is in the opinions concerning the ways of handing down the farm (only in the highly developed regions is there as strong tendency to submit the land to the state), as well as in the degree to which state intervention is permitted into the affairs of the peasant farm. However, the opinions about the effectiveness of a given type of ownership of farming equipment show that the advocates of the most individualistic attitudes, who also strongly oppose socialized forms of agricultural services in peasant farming, are mainly farmers from the intermediately industrialized regions, which were under a strong influence from the capitalistic ideology present in Poland up to World War Two Factors causing this phenomenon should be looked for not only in the favourable areal structure of the farms in this region, but also in the strongly rooted cultural ideals of the individually operated farm.

The often revealed and relatively high degree of traditional attitudes of farmers in underdeveloped regions deserves very careful interpretation. As has been proved by additional studies traditionalism usually arises out of the objective set of conditions in which the testees worked and lived. Subjected to the strong pressure of the communited agrarian structure, and having no possibility of obtaining non-agricultural employment, farmers from underdeveloped regions display a relatively high, sometimes even an extremely rational, tendency toward modernization of the farm, which, however, does not lead to any visible loosening of emotional ties to the land.

5. INTERGENERATIONAL DIFFERENCES

Intergenerational comparisons obtained from the testees, farmers and their prospective successors, show a significant difference of social attitudes of the two peasant generations. These differences concern mainly their attitudes toward private farms, social productive factors, and opinions on the future of rural areas and agriculture.

Contrary to initial expectations, however, the heirs process a stronger attachment to individual private farms than their parents. This tendency and the resulting intergenerational differences of attitudes and opinions exist only in highly developed regions. Interpreting these results which are different from the assumed laws of rationalizations, we should probably look for tendencies to oust the so-called feelings of temporariness among repatriates and children of colonists, as well as for greater possibilities, in their regions, of attaining the ideal of peasant-worker.

A different region structure points to generational differences in opinion concerning the amount of accepted state intervention in farm matters: in all regions of Poland young people who are expected to be farm managers show much less restraint than their parents in recommending drastic measures to punish incompetent land usufructuaries.

The research work shows that young people from underdeveloped regions aim at having much larger farms than their parents, while heirs from the western industrialized regions show opposite preferences. These can be explained mainly by the existence of different pressures exerted on the two groups by their actual possibilities of access to land and to non-agricultural employment.

The generation of farmers who are expected to take over the farm from the present managers shows a lesser tendency than the old generation to yield to the extremely individualistic mode of farming. They are also almost twice as much in favor of social agricultural services than their predecessors. Among the factors which accompany this type of orientation, one of the most important is the productive connection of the family farm with farming cooperatives. The positive influence of such connections on the attitudes of the younger generation seems to be unquestionable.

What is surprising is the fact that young people who are prepared for future roles as independent farm managers do not anticipate the domination of socializee forms of farming. It seems that there are two tendencies which characterize the young generation: (a) relatively more confidence and faith in the stability of the family farming system; and (b) greater reserve towards radical changes in the agrarian structure.

The reasons for this type of evolution of attitudes in the younger generation deserve further and more detailed research. Since we lack more certain data, we can only express the hypothetical assumption that the noticeable attachment of the young to land ownership may be the result of a strong belief that it is possible to actively participate in the development of the rural area and agriculture as a whole. Their visible readiness to play an active role in the process of further specialization of Polish agriculture induces us to assume that the younger generation more strongly approves of modernization, based on cooperative, rather than on state principles of organization.

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JÓZEF CHAŁASIŃSKI

THE YOUNG RURAL GENERATION IN THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

AUTOBIOGRAPHIES, PERSONALITIES, THINGS AND EVENTS

BIOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

The French author Jean Paul Sartre (born in 1905) whose philosophical troubles with the problems of existence and non-existence became very popular in the capitals of the modern world, entitled his recently published autobiography *Les Mots* (*Words*)[1]. The title comprises characteristics of the environment which moulded his psyche from early childhood. "In vain would I seek within myself", writes Sartre, "the surging memories of sweet, unreflective rural youth. I never dug the soil nor did I search for birds' nests... My books were my birds and my nests, my domestic animals, my stable and my village".

Various are the "villages" of childhood in which the shape of human personality is constituded. At times a book is dominant and there are no birds, elsewhere there are birds without books. People and animals, things and events enter a person's biography in different ways. The goat and cow in Gandhi's biography are something different from a pet-dog in the philosopher's biography that accompanies him in his morning walks.

If I were to follow the example of the cited French philosopher (and my contemporary) and write a similar diary, I could not omit cows. In my autobiography there would be linked together not only cows and history, but also cows and philosophy. As a small boy I was a cowherd at the beginning of World War I and in various circumstances during that war. I did the same during World War II and during the uprising when Warsaw was burning. That picture is vivid in my memory – September 1944. The village near Warsaw close to the Soviet-German front, on the east bank of the Vistula River, in which I found a shelter. The villagers are were digging potatoes. As an intellectual, pre-war assistant-professor and Director of the State Institute of Rural Culture I chose a more contemplative function than potatoes digging – the function of a cowherd. I and my "staff" a seven years old boy and a dog were responsible for all the eleven cows of the village. Burning Warsaw, the horror of the war

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and tragedy of the uprising on the other side of the Vistula. Satiated, the cows sat in the meadow and peacefully ruminated. I had much time on this pasture for a philosophic mediation, but nothing remained in my memory of what went through my mind then, not even a word. It was at that point in my autobiography that a cow crossed with history and the philosophy of life, existence with non-existence and I had a stronger than ever feeling of the unity of a personal being with that of the entire country.

It is interesting that the episode with the cows tenaciously clung to my biography – of an assistant-professor and professor – but in a wordless form and rather in an impersonal landscape form, similar to the episode with cows in the preintellectual period of infency. I recall that because reading diaries always raises the problem of the mechanism of memory which selects that which enters permanently into an individual's biography – not only by means of words.

There is nothing unusual today in the fact that I commence considerations on the diaries of the young rural generation in Poland with the biography of a Parisian writer. Keeping diaries was once a privilege of unusual people, now it has become a source material and often an irreplacable instrument of research on human culture treated in association with the human personality. Autobiography serves, within the framework of the newly developing field of cultural anthropology, as an aid in research on culture of various levels of development, both of the intellectual elite of our times as on the only commencing literature on primitive cultures until recently based exclusively on the oral tradition.

It is a pleasant fact for the Polish reader that diary writing extended to the working strata was inaugurated in social science half a century ago with the publication of *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (issued in the English language in the USA). Published in 1918 – 1920, this was the result of collaboration of the Polish scholar and writer Florian Znaniecki with the American scholar William I. Thomas[2].

The further development of working people's diary literature, in which Poland occupies first place, exceeds the bounds of this introduction[3]. The reader interested in a comparative view of new Polish diary publications may turn to the collective autobiographies of American workers published in 1963 under the title *The American Worker in the Twentieth Century – A History Through Autobiographies*. An American reviewer writes about it, that in America "...it is an expression of the delayed recognition of the fact that biography must not pertain to the great and wealthy to be worth reading"[4]. It is not a revolutionary publication, but it is interesting as another expression of the quest for vivifying sources of culture in a country where the ideology of business and economic success have weighed heavily on culture for a number of generations.

Interest in biographical and autobiographic literature is characteristic of our epoch. The more impersonal, schematic and anonymous daily inter-personal contacts under the conditions of contemporary civilization, the more the culture of friendly conversation disappears, the more the writer and reader of diaries reach for them for the elements of life and culture.

I put a personal element in first place here since the basic element of diaries is the author's memories or recollections, the theme of which is usually the writer himself, his personality in relation to other people, things and events. Such is the character of diary writing on the initiative of the writer himself, which has a long tradition, and such diaries as contained in this study which originated in connection with contests.

To write his diary Sartre had not only many incentives in his contemporary literary community interested in the human personality. His autobiography belongs to the type of literature which flowered in the 18th century but had come into being much earlier. Sartre had many famous predecessors whom he knew about and with whom he was linked by the tradition of intellectual curiosity in the human personality, of the fancy for the analysis of the mysteries of the human spirit and of oneself. The analytical passion of the writer-psychologist is mixed in his diary with the desire to perpetuate his image by transmitting it to others.

The diaries represented in this work show a dominant need for self-expression, for shaping one's image and transmitting it to others. This motif is aroused by contests though not only this one. This motif may appear only in the course of writing which is caused by other stimuli, such as testing one's writing ability, obtaining a reward, acquiring help in a difficult situation etc. "When I began to write this biography", we read in one of the diaries in this work, "it was with the thought of contest. But when I am finishing it I want to dedicate it to Oleńka – only less than a year old".

After fifty years of diary writing on the request of sociologists, by people who were not known as public personalities, there appeared diaries which as cultural documents were not inferior to biographies of famous persons. Almost 5500 diaries were submitted to a contest on *The Young Rural Generation*, held by the Union of Rural Youth with the participation of the People's Publishing Cooperative and interested scientific centres. At a similar contest held at the same time on *One Month of My Life*[5] by "Tygodnik Kulturalny" and the Polish Radio netted about 2000 diaries, not to speak of similar contests. These attest to the fact that the call to participate provided an outlet to the existing need for self-expression. Nor is it accidental that the question of one's own personality, its shaping and finding its place social and cultural life was at the centre of the writing effort.

The person as the subject of diaries can never be separated from the socio-cultural environment. It always appears in the many-sided social and cultural links proper to the historical epoch and social environment to which the individual belongs. The human personality, society and culture are three inseverable sides of the reality. The young rural generation appears in these three sides in the diaries. They point to the formation of the personalities of the young rural generation in the process of their emergency in the national and social culture in the historical period of transpiring deep transformations in the Polish People's Republic.

Roughly considered, what distinguishes man in nature is his autonomy, freedom, inseparably linked with production. Freedom and production constitute the background on which culture and personality arise. Freedom distinguishes man from things. This is why the conception person is inseparably linked with the conception culture. Culture is something created by mansomething he does not find in nature. And the most essential element of culture is man himself, his own work, his personality which is shaped by co-existence with other people, in work developing culture.

Culture has not started with writing but writing characterizes a higher stage of human culture. The development of diary writing signifies a greater range of autonomy, a higher degree of spiritual independence not only from his environment of things, nature, biology, but also from the surroundings, imposed by biology and birth without individual choice.

The diaries collected in this study, like the collection as whole are valuable not only as a picture of human life, but primarily as a depiction of the formation of the diary writer's personality. They are particularly valuable, since they pertain to a category which in the class structure of pre-war Poland belonged to the rural poor who were condemned to an impersonal existence. The diaries point out the process of the emergence and development of spiritual autonomy among this category of people in connection with the historical transformations of the Polish People's Republic. The history of Poland is reflected here in biographical diaries.

The very fact of writing constituted for the diarists an act of affirmation of their personalities in the autonomy won by the authors through participation in the process of transformation transpiring in the country. The writing expressed a desire to consolidate that autonomy by strengthening personal ties with the national and general human culture. It is also the case that the transition from the concrete environment to that of words and writing results in vastness of diaries. It often goes hand in hand with poetic, novelistic or publicistic ambitions. Once begun, writing creates its own incentives for further writing. This phenomenon is widely known in the history of diary writing. Both the bird of steady amateur writing and the beginning of professionalism are connected with this problem. Contest participants are predominantly of the newspaper and magazine reading public accustomed to reading and writing, to participation in various kinds of competitions. But this should not overshadow the basic question, namely, the liberation of people from the pre-writing impersonal environment of "peasants", traditionally regarded as a class of lower beings, spiritually dependent and requiring the care of lords, and their discovery of their own, autonomous, independent personalities reflectively participating in the national and allhuman culture.

AUTONOMIZATION OF THE PERSON AND THE HISTORICAL PROCESS. NATIONAL SELF-AWARENESS AND IDENTIFICATION WITH THE POLISH PEOPLES REPUBLIC

The diary of a hamlet councillor near Krosno (No 4365), the first in this collection, belongs to those whose author's childhood reaches back to the pre-war period. Born in 1929, the authoress was one of 14 children who came into the world practically every year during 1929 1942. Two of them died. Besides, there were 5 children from the father's previous marriage.

Her father ploughed his small field with cows. He harnessed his children to help two cows. Cows were very necessary in that family; children were not. "He was very angry at us because we were so many". We prayed for the death of a newly-born. It did not help:, the children lived. When the fourteenth child came into the world mother named him after a dead child. It was believed in the village that a child named so would also die. But it did not. When the authoress was six years old her mother had to send her to work for a neighbour taking care of his child.

This short diary is mainly devoted to childhood in which the satisfaction of elementary biological needs is dominant over everything else. The family did not normally conform even to the borderline between biological existence and human culture, depicted in the diary. The father, a drunkard, is not the centre of the family ties here. The elementary group linked in a common destiny are the mother and the children. Very striking are the bonds of kinship and attachment to work on the farm. Work in a factory in a neighbouring town happily freed the authoress from the fate of a servant. But she was glad to return to her native village in 1950 when she married the owner of a 7 ha farm.

The decade 1950 1960 was the period when the authoress adopted new social roles: independent person in her own home, on her own farm, initiator of a Housekeepers Circle, Hamlet Council woman and public activist. She recalls with gratitude the five day excursion to Cracow, Oświęcim, Nowa Huta and Zakopane as a reward offered by the Peasants' Self-Help Cooperative for her fruitful public activity.

I describe here the elements of that diary in which the childhood environment is quite different from that the philosopher called an environment of words. Neither her father, an illiterate, nor the mother, overburdened with toil and trouble, read books. Under these conditions, the authoress' departure beyond the biological sphere of life, the entire process leading her to the role of a public figure, did not have any basis in the family, bus was effected by external stimuli. Working as a servant at a neighbour's, making sure that she should attend school, joining a circle of the Union of Polish Youth, work at a factory in a neighbouring town – all these are the stages in her personal development. It is significant that her life path, as a great personal socio-cultural success, is depicted in the diary without egocentrism, with the clear tendency to exhibit her life in relation to what is socially useful and not from the angle of personal feelings. Neither her family nor rural tradition habituated the authoress to contemplate her ego and to share personal feelings with others.

The authoress of the diary actively participates in public life and consciously desires to transform various spheres of life of her farm and village. And she is anxious to take part in the process of transformation of the Polish People's Republic. She has in that sense historical awareness, the consciousness of participating in the changes transpiring in the country. This historical awareness is a part of her personality structure. But it is interesting that the historical awareness reflected in her diary has only two links: the present and the future, without a historical past. The starting point of everything in her biography is the fight against hunger. It makes no difference for her who were her forefathers.

One cannot know reading the diary that its authoress lives in an old village which reaches back to the times of the Piast Dynasty, that her forebears settled there several centuries ago and that her indigenous name figures in the 15th and 16th century chronicles. It is also known from publications that more or less strong echoes have been preserved in the oral trditions of the neighbouring population of various historical events reaching back not only to the peasant forays of 1846, but also to the period of the Swedish invasion. But it lacks the traditions of the peasant political movement. The village and its neighbourhood, produced a handful of intellectuals but not a single political leader. As to the national awareness of those villages towards the end of the 19th century, we may refer to the world of a famous humanist and scholar, a diarist of these parts, that there was "at best uncertain". The village had no traditions of peasant radicalism.

All that information comes not from the diary in question but from another source. Local political enthusiasts were not created here by the times of the Austrian annexation nor the inter-war period. The villages and their environs were dominated by the manor house and the very traditional parish, indifferent to a political activity. The estate owner was usually abroad. "The manor and village were two worlds completely alien to each other", we read in the above mentioned diary. The squire was sometimes seen in church. "He came, preceded by his lackey, usually in the middle of Mass... Having seated himself, he put on his monocle and like in a theatre performance looked around the church filled with people. And that was for him the only occasion for looking over the village"[7].

The village which is not portrayed in our authoress' diary, is one of small and landless farmers. And it is not accidental that this community of the rural poor, of the menial class, has no historical memory. Historical memory takes shape in people who create history. It is the recollection of history to the extent that it is one's own history. The forebears of the authoress of the diary existed in the past over many centuries but did not create their history, since they constituded a class of menials. History is made by people not things; people who figure in history in the role of manor inventory have no historical memory. This diary is worth reading mainly because it shows that the authoress' approach to the twenty year history of the Polish People's Republic is inseverably connected with the genesis of her freedom, with the autonomy of her person.

The historal process is truly historical provided it is autonomous. Its essential parts are this respect the autonomy and freedom of person who create it. There is no history without freedom. History is not made by slaves. The slave has only the present, biological neither historical nor socio-cultural awareness. He is a person without past or future. He is not a historical person. But it must be added that there are no absolute slaves.

I deal at length with this diary because it is in many respects representative of that category of the young rural generation which occupies a principal place in the collection of diaries in this work. It is the formerly most poverty stricken section of the rural population, which during the period of the Polish People's Republic and in connection with the transformations it has undergone, made the greatest social and cultural advance – an advance from the situation of a class of menials of the landed estates and richer farmers to persons with spiritual autonomy, from the role of raw material for history to that of co-forgers of the historical process.

The diary also demonstrates the process of transformation of toil which is close to the exertion of draft animals to work which enriches the human personality and is integrally associated with culture.

Another woman diarist, financial manager of a cooperative and a public activist (No 2078) in a country, was born in 1933. After completing a seven-month stenography course in Wrocław she took her first job in her family parts. Both diarists come from the same province. Their start in life was similar in some respects. In both cases poverty and undernourishment in childhood, lack of the tradition of the populist movement in the family.

The fathers of both were drunks, which was connected with their music-making at weddings. One played the violin, the other the trumpet and also sang in the church chorus. But there was a considerable difference between them. The father of the former "never set foot in school, did not known how to read and write and considered that one could do very well without that", while the father of the latter highly valued his 4 forms of elementary school, owing to which he worked in the hamlet administration and was concerned about his daughter's education. For the second diarist school opened new horizons not only with her learning, but also because of the youth organization. The authoress includes her participation in the scout movement among her most pleasant memories. She writes about the year between the fifth and seventh forms of elementary school: "I was chosen troop leader (of girl scouts) and from then on there was something new to do besides cow herding almost every Sunday".

The end of the war opened new horizons before both diarists. "Poverty began to vanish from the house", wrote the first, "It was possible to get work everywhere". Utilization of the economic upswing proceeded differently in the two families. The first diarist, 16 years old in 1945, began to act on her own account: left home to work first as a domestic servant, then in a factory at Krosno. It was different with the second diarist. Her father, the party musician and hamlet worker, went out into the world, to the Western Territories (regained by Poland). In Bolesławiec he obtained work as an office manager in the County Agricultural Service. He brought over his family, and his daughter entered the 8th grade of elementary school. He did well, but because of the rumour of a new war, returned to his native parts. The authoress of the diary spent less than a year in Bolesławiec but already discovered the wide world and the way to become independent. The wide world entered her biography via the Western Territories. Upon his return to Bolesławiec her father took a special course and became an employee of the County Union of Hamlet Cooperatives. The situation at home improved, "I was well dressed and had money to spend". She wanted very much to have money of her own. After completing the 9th form of general elementary school, she and her friend went to Wrocław for a 7-month stenography course. When she finished it in 1950, she got work in a hamlet cooperative in her native parts, in the same cooperative where her father had worked and owing to his efforts.

The description in the diary No 2078 of the period of drunkeness which dominated the cooperative and affected also the diarist, points up the danger on the road of individualization and advancement of social disorganization effected by the processes of rapid transition from the traditional rural to a modern urban structure. The authoress surmounted the difficulties of this period and was glad to supplement her vocational activity with public work. She is now interested in graduating from secondary school. She is active in many organizations and is a member of the Board of the Estabilishment Council as financial director.

The career of this diarist thus differs from that of the previous one in many respects. But we are confronted here with two variants of the same general historic-sociological and socio-psychological process. This process consists of automatization of the person, acquisition by the individual of spiritual independence, a feeling of freedom and dignity in connection with a self--chosen occupation and voluntary public activity felt as an internal necessity. Thus both diarists' identification with the Polish People's Republic, the formation of their socio-historical awareness and their entrance into the nation's historical process were effected by autonomization of the person, vocation and public activity.

The processes of autonomization are more characteristic of women's than men's diaries. If the former estates-class social structure of the village in general was marked by servitude and lack of autonomy, then women more than men were branded by historical and folk tradition as a non--autonomous being, a household chattel whose life was encompassed by the blind-alley between the cottage and the church parish, far from the broad highway of the nation's history. It is on the background of the past that the spiritual autonomization of rural women is so significant for the entire process expressed in the diaries of the young rural generation.

The diaries also indicate that the process of autonomization of the person and the development of national awareness, by the identification with the Polish People's Republic, takes place in relation with the destiny of the diarists and their families uprooted by the war and occupation. The diaries of repatriates settled in the Western Territories are in a separate work. They depict the story from the adversities of homeless families to their settlement on those territories where land was in plenty. From the "Polish pilgrimage" during the war these diarists' road of life leads to excellence in the agricultural profession and other occupations. The Western Territories played a tremendous role in the formation of our diarists' historical consciousness.

The transformation of agriculture in accord with the requirements of contemporary civilization noted in the diaries is accompanied by the same general process of automatization which characterizes the acquisition of independence by means of non-agricultural vocations and professions and emigration from the village. The desire for the autonomization is expressed in the farmer's ambition to be an enlightened cultural individual on the level of the contemporary epoch. It is also expressed in the desire to convert agriculture into a profession intelligently guided by contemporary agronomic science. The farmer wants to be an autonomous person, not pushed around from the outside as in former times, but acting independently according to his understanding of things and according to his convictions.

That is not a simple process. Modern agriculture is an integral part of the contemporary economic system. The more highly it is mechanized and the more it meets the needs of contemporary technology and agronomic science, the greater is its dependence upon the total national and world economy. Autonomy of the person, on the one hand, and the growing dependence of various occupations and professions within an impersonal system of technical and economic functions, on the other hand, characterize man's general situation in contemporary civilization. With urban civilization the situation extends ever more to the village, and it is not free of conflicts. The diaries indicate first of all the subjective, psychological, conscious side of the process of the village entering the stage of history of the Polish People's Republic and the diffusion of contemporary civilization in the rural areas.

The second fundamental side of this process, the linking of agriculture with the techno-economic system of functioning of the whole national economy, within the world economy, did not and could not find full expression in documents of this kind. But the components of the historical process are not only autonomous persons but also the material-technical environment created by man. The weight of the material, technical side of the process is directly proportional to the extent of technical progress. When precise machines replace so many of man's former activities and computers accomplish complex operations which no individual human brain could possibly cope with, then the question arises how much spiritual autonomy can man have and of what kind. In this respect, the question of autonomy of the individual which occupies first place in the diaries is not the problem of a backward section of the population but the general problem of contemporary civilized man. Seen in this light, these diaries dispel the illusion that there are ready-made solutions in the city for rural problems.

DIRECT EXPERIENCE AND HISTORICAL AWARENESS. YOUTH AND THE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT OF ROMANTICISM

We have stated above that the biography of this study starts as if from the very beginning, that it has no roots in the past, for the family in which the authoress came into the world had no historical memory. Certain conceptual distinctions are now necessary.

By lack of a historical memory we mean the lack of a certain kind of knowledge of the past, not that there is no knowledge at all of man's past. The human being is unthinkable without some memory of the past, without some memory in general. A state of mankind in which some knowledge of man's past is not cultivated is unknown to us. Some knowledge in this domain, primitively of a religious character, is an inseparable part of the history of culture from its inception. Thus, in reference to the family of the first diarist not having any historical memory, I did not refer to the religious tradition nor to the folk philosophy of life as immutable and eternal. I had in mind the knowledge of the social reality seen in its development, as shaped by man himself, the knowledge which embraces awareness of the historical heritage, of its continuation and transformation.

Such historical memory, as the individual's historical awareness, is not just a knowledge but a moral involvement, a feeling of responsibility for the cultural heritage of the past generations.

Historical awareness of this kind is based on inter-personal contacts within various social institutions. It is manifested in various degrees already in the family which in this respect constitutes an especially important link because of its educational function. Stimulation, organization and development of historical awareness is the fundamental task of the school. Literature acts as the organizer of the historical memory, it perpetuates the nation's history as a human activity and transmits it to the coming generations.

While the first diarist does not reveal this kind of historical memory in her childhood recollections, in others it appears in the family as home tradition in early childhood. Thus a 20 year old zootechnician from Silesia (No 4440 among the youngest diarists, born in 1940) recalls his grandfather, a participant in the Silesian uprising.

In the diary of the director of a cottage handicrafts section in a Podhale village, born in 1931, there are no traces of historical memory, but a stock of systematic knowledge of the history of the village and region and their contribution to the national culture. The diarist was 16 when he organized a Scout troupe in his village. He names the populist writers from his village and its environs. He comes from a farm of 2 ha and is not a professional writer. There is a live tradition of the Populist movement in his and the neighbouring villages.

A Garwolin farmer born in 1929 writes: "At home I grew up in an atmosphere of books and the works of 'Wici' leaders (peasant populist organization)... Father was also an active member of a cooperative savings and loan society, of food and dairy cooperatives. A "Wici" circle was active in the village". At the opening of his diary he writes that he associated "Peasant diaries" with the biographies of the great national personalities which he read. He mentions Kościuszko, Mickiewicz, Konopnicka, Sienkiewicz, Orzeszkowa and Prus.

Here we hit upon the essence of the question in what manner concrete historical events enter into the individual's biography and personality structure. This question is little investigated. The life of the individual embraces a very brief fragment of the nation's history. The individual's historical awareness has the character of knowledge of the past as symbolized in literature and other contents of the national culture. The individual's direct personal experience with great historical events taking place in his lifetime constitutes but a tiny particle of the totality of the national history. But this kind of direct historical experience always exerts a basic influence on the individual's general historical awareness.

In the diaries cited here as in the whole collection of that contest the war and occupation and their consequences for particular individuals and families and for the nation as a whole are the limen of the national awareness, associated in various ways, more or less directly, with the personal experience of that generation of diarists.

The diarist 3302, born in 1936 was 3 years of age in September 1939. In his diary we read: "The Germans are entering the village. Terrible thunderous rattle... Yes. Those were Germans. It was in 1939. It is interesting that my memory begins precisely then, it does not reach further back, not even an hour... I do not remember Polish soldiers although they had probably fled a minute before the Germans arrived".

A half year older woman diarist, No 3556, begins with the moment in 1939 when her father was enlisted as a recruit. The diary of a female surgeon's assistant, No 4725, born in 1935, begins with memories of her beloved father killed by the Germans in 1942. Her 2 brothers, 18 and 20 years old perished in the defense of Warsaw. The diarist nr 1334, born in 1940, begins with his transportation by Germans. Such examples can be multiplied.

The war and occupation constitutes the direct historical experience which fused the personal fates of the diarists of that generation with the destiny of the entire nation[9].

A basic role in the process of formation of the historical self awareness is played by the school and the book. Fine literature occupies a special place here. Here is what the diarist No 3302 read in 1952 when at 16 years of age he rode to school in Jarosław: "I delighted in reading Dumas, Prus, Conrad, Tolstoy, London, Sienkiewicz". His contemporary diarist No 5285, studying at the Tarnobrzeg secondary school, also plunged into fine literature. "This is how", he writes, "I got acquainted in the 9th form with Żeromski, Prus, Sienkiewicz, Mickiewicz, Orkan, Słowacki, Kruczkowski, Hugo, Balzac, L. Tolstoy, London, Dostoyevsky and many others".

It is not only the type of literature that is similar in the biographies of the two contemporaries. Having torn themselves away from their grandfathers' life of vegetation, they fused the natural impulsiveness of youth with the revolutionary spirit of the times. Such literature seems to satisfy a definite need. It is not necessary to guess the sense of absorption in fine literature: that is made obvious in the diaries. Part of the diary which speaks of delighting in Dumas, Prus, etc. is entitled *Goal – A Place among People*. In relation to the literature read, the diarist nr 5285 comments that he decided "to cast the age-old skin of the peasant".

"A place among people", other than "the age-old skin of the peasant" this is what I define as the desire of this rural generation for spiritual autonomy. This is a direction taken by the teenage rural youth in 1945–1955. History opened-up great opportunities before them. The social revolution abolished class barriers and paved a wide road to the city, work and education. In that period, in 1951, the author of the diary No 3302, recently an acolyte, becomes the President of the Union of Polish Youth and as a 15 year old youth participates in conferences of the Pedagogical Council of the pedagogical secondary school which he attended. "I was seated", he writes in his diary, "among grey-headed professors". The class struggle suited a generation of the teenagers, the generation which broke with the age-old constraints of the village. The idea of socialism carried a great revolutionary content for that generation. The personal consequences of that revolution were various for these diarists. The revolutionary spirit rebelled against the kulaks and parents. The rebel was sometimes beaten by the father, according to diary No 195, for describing the neighbouring kulak in a newspaper. Poland's rural youth had never experienced such a revolution before.

1948-diarist No 3666 was then 16 years old. He attended commercial secondary school at Wadowice, belonged to the Union of Rural Youth and organized a Scout troupe in his village. He writes about that period: "This was a period full of youthful vitality... It was a truly idealistic youth". Having completed that school in 1950 he worked for 2 years at Bielsko. But he had had enough of the city and returned to the village. When writing this diary he was director of the cottage handicraft section at the County Union of Agricultural Circles. As we read in his diary: "I have a well paid job, my own apartment, a motorcycle and a TV set which I have recently bought".

This diarist comes from a farm of 2 ha. His grandfather was three times in America, and his father spent two years in France. The character and direction of migration changed after the last war. About 20 families left the village for Poland's Western Territories.

The diary No 1355 by an author of the same age group comes from another part of Poland. Born in 1931, the diarist was 8 years of age when the war broke out. Among his pre-war memories he notes that he recited a poem in honour of Piłsudski at a school celebration when he was in the second form. Poverty was an eternal problem in his family of landless manor day labourers in Poznań Province. "I remember", he writes about those years of his childhood, "that I even envied colleagues because they could in the summer time water flowers in the cemetery. No member of our family was ever buried on the cemetery". When the war and occupation came, the boy went to work as a servant in a German family. There was no possibility of studying. "One of the older farm-hands found somewhere a copy of Sienkiewicz's *Trilogy*".

After the liberation, with four forms of elementary education, he entered a gardening secondary school and then a pedagogical high school in the Western Territories. "There, he writes in his diary, I really started to feel the advantages of the new system on my own skin. Boarding school, a dining room, my colleagues coming mainly from the village. It was a paradise for me". Having completed it he remained in that high school as a teacher. He was then 20 and became chairman of the Union of Polish Youth Teachers' Circle. There in the Western Territory they read philosophy. "As a teacher I felt a bit out of my class", he writes. He undertook extra-mural Polish studies and graduated from the Cracow Higher Pedagogical School with a Master's degree and his professors' recognition. He somewhat later became assistant director of an agricultural technical school in the Western Territories. At the same time he worked on his PhD degree and had in mind further scientific work and the assistant professorship. Devoting much time to the affairs of Lubuski Province, he cooperated with the local newspaper. He is a member of the Polish United Workers' Party.

In his diary the author looks critically on the hyperthrophy of the youth movement, which in the name of socialism and struggle against the class enemy rose, in his opinion, above all authority. That phenomenon interests us at this point as a phase in the process of formation of the personalities of participants in that movement. The social awareness of the diarist 1355, who was so active in that movement, commenced when he was a forced land labourer in Germany during the occupation. It was then when he secretly read Sienkiewicz's *Trilogy* and later entered *for* the youth movement. There is nothing new about the fact that young people discovering themselves, become ideological zealots of the social movement. The spiritual autonomy of one's own personality is not attained in a socio--cultural vacuum. One acquires it by devotion to some personally chosen cause considered worthy of the chooser.

It is not surprising to the psychologist and sociologist that young people who have at times been troublesome and unjust to older generation and to their educators took inspiration from the same fine literature which nourished their educators a quarter century ago Mickiewicz, Sienkiewicz, Prus, Żeromski, etc. For the first time in the history of the Polish nation the prospect opened-up on such a scale for the peasant and working class youth to identify themselves with the Polish youth. The privileges of self--realization, i.e. the privileges of upper class youth, became the prerogatives of peasant and working class youth. The right to such a youth is the highest attainment the revolution brought the young rural generation.

The diarists quoted here are of the age group born in 1931. These may be complemented by the diaries of younger authors. Thus, the diarist No 5397, a young farmer born in 1938 was 14 years old. He finished elementary school and remained on the farm with his parents. "School exerted a great influence on my life", he writes. But he did not continue his schooling. "Books", we read in his diary, "that was my second school. I liked deep and difficult books. I wanted to know why we live and what for, what is the universe and if God exists. What is the cause of much evil on earth? I wanted to understand what capitalism and communism are... I believed in socialism, that it had arose for people in order to make things better for everybody... In 1955 I was chosen chairman of the Union of Polish Youth... I like that; it is beautiful to love everybody. I liked such Soviet films as *Ballade about a Soldier* and *The Cranes Are Flying*... The better Polish films do not reach to us. I would like to see *The Sewer, Ashes and Diamonds* and of course *The Teutonic Knights*... I have read Mickiewicz, Słowacki, Konopnicka, Staff, Tuwim, Broniewski, Gałczyński and a few poems by Jastrun. I like the verses of young poets. I read their poems printed sometimes in "Nowa Wieś" (a magazine – J. C.)... Although the times were hard, my youth was beautiful. Sometimes, when I went fishing I liked to discover the beauty of nature and compare it to the excerpts of poems I had previously read. That was my hobby together with writing verses... When I fell in love for the second time in my life at the age of 17, I experienced joy and tragedy".

Where and when did a youth appear in literature in which poetry and belief in the beauty of life pervaded the nation and humanity and where the discovery of one's self went hand in hand with devotion to ideals? Such was the youth of the Philomaths and members of the Filarets (Society of Lovers of Virtue at Wilno University, 1819–1823–J.C.) in the time of Mickiewicz. The cited fragments from the diaries relate to the Philomaths of the period of the great transformations in the Polish People's Republic.

A quarter century ago I took as my motto for *The Young Peasant Generation* the following fragment from one of the diaries of the time: "Youth – the word denoting the selvage of the most beautiful life in nature, I subconsciously felt in poetry, in the flowering springtime, in the children and young people at summer resorts in the country. I myself do not remember if I was young then... I dedicate the description of my life to my several million contemporaries, companions in peasant adversity whose lives were similar to mine and who are nevertheless paving the road for those who come after us". Thus wrote a then 26 year old diarist from Lublin who never really experienced being young and only saw it among summer vacationists. Diarist No 5397, a rural philomat of 1955, had a different youth. It is his father of Lublin province with a few hectares of land and 6 heirs who had no youth.

No 5397 a farmer in the regained territories is not the only romanticist. His contemporary, the diarist No 5223, born in 1937, a young farmer in the Bieszczady foot hills, is also one. "In the spring of 1957", he writes, "I fell in love. This was my first love... I was shy and reserved... I did not dream of living together, for I didn't even kiss her. This was my first pure love and that was enough for me... There remained only memories and fragments of verses I wrote to her... For me a verse written by Mickiewicz or Słowacki are almost as valuable to me as those I wrote, for even my worst one speaks of my own dreams and this is important to me".

Not all diarists, even the romanticists, write according to romantic literary patterns. A zootechnician near Katowice, No 4440, may be less reserved and shy in love, but is very shy in relation to poetry. His great feeling of responsibility for everything he does is also a kind of romanticism, in which his personal dignity is fused with civic responsibility.

That zootechnician, born in 1940, is among the youngest diarists, 2 year younger than the farmer, No 5397; but he lost his youth too early. In non-agricultural occupations in the rural areas one can become vocationally independent earlier than on the parents' farm. And that is the source of a serious problem. This diarist became a member of the Hamlet People's Council at the age of 21.

In describing his youth the zootechnician is not poetical. He declares that he read "Polityka", "Trybuna Ludu" and many books, but he does no say which. The beauty of his youth is contained in the last sentences of the diary. He left for the army with his colleagues' farewell. "Everything smelled of spring. The train moved leaving behind the family neighbourhood where I had spent the best period of my life".

The youth indicated in that diary has the same significant feature as the previous ones. That youth and the newly emerging world of the Polish People's Republic are one. That youth takes part in the creation of the new Poland and the new world. The feeling of that participation is its essential element. This is youth in a young world which has broken its old crust and is acquiring a new image.

The new pattern of life is not only the new world of dreams and of the spirit, it also constitutes the transformation of the material conditions and environment. One of the symptoms of deeply-going change is electricity, which to the city dweller has become something banal, natural like air, and which is noticed only when spoiled. In the rural cottage electricity is a profound revolution. With that revolution commences in the diary No 4440 an entirely new post-war epoch. Right after describing the atrocities of the occupation, the diary goes on: "A team of workers came to the village and installed electricity. The old people are saying that it must be a pretty good government, since electricity is installed so quickly".

In these diaries romanticism is associated with the question of human dignity, as indicated, for instance, in the diary of a Bielsk working woman, No 4557. She was born in 1938 on a dwarf farm in Wadowice County one of a family of 12. She finished 7 forms of elementary school and since 1955 worked as a spinner in Bielsko. She was a member of the Union of Socialist Youth, The Polish United Working Party, The Polish Tourism and Hiking Society and of the self-management board of a worker's hostel. She took refresher courses in dress-making and in ideological self-education. There is no time to continue formal schooling. The parents refused to let her go to town, but she was stubborn and went out into the world. That was the career of a "beggar" as she was called in the village. "I grew in spirit and in heart and I fell in love with the city", she writes.

This diarist reads the journal "Nowa Wieś". She likes public activity. Very interesting in this biography is the womanly thread. She defends her honour against the boys. Womanhood is linked here with dignity. Love is honour plus dignity and love should prevail over sex.

Worth noting is also diary nr 1318. The authoress, born in 1936, also takes advantage of the opportunities created by history. Unwilling to remain a drudge at home she emigrated to the Western Territories. Her home, difficult to call a family home, was broken up. Her father was in prison for theft. Her mother neglected her domestic duties and the daughter felt unnecessary to anyone. Her mother took her out of school and sent her to work as a servant on a state farm in the Western Territories.

As a compensation for her loneliness the diarist falls in love. What kind of love? The kind we know from the romantic poetry of Mickiewicz. Writers have situated such love in the manors of noblemen – we find it here in that diary, on a state farm. Romantic love between a female and male-state farm workers.

Of course, rural romantics 1962 model who feel in their element behind the wheel of an automobile like woman diarist No 5503 are not identical with those from a half century ago. Like them they dream of true love, but they know that without hired help love must wait on obligations, first of all the needs of cows, calves, pigs and not on one's person. Marriage is a serious question for a farmer, even the most cultured and modern one. It is not easy to find an attractive and cultured woman who is willing to live on a farm. To marry a city girl not accustomed to the country life is out of the question, but such a decision for a country girl is not easy either, who has a choice of independent occupation.

The diarist No 4329, a farmer born in 1937, a cultured person and reader of "Gromada" since its foundation, met a young lady. They fell in love. A crisis developed when she found out that her beloved works on a farm under difficult conditions. They did not marry. The farm was not small, 12 ha, and not far from Warsaw. But the cottage was old and "the time was past when girls married acres". The diarist did not give up. He did everything to "improve the house and raise the farm to a high cultural level", on which his marriage depended. Despite difficulties, he values the farmer's profession, for it is the farm, he writes, that gives "the feeling of not being dependent on any one". In his opinion, "a city dweller is more uncertain in some historical situations. Many young people have already stopped thinking of the city". A young woman diarist, No 5060, dreams of true love, television set, a personal library at home, on the farm, which she did not want to change for the city.

With reference to romanticism it is worth noting the popularity of the poet who is a kind of liaison between the romanticism of the Mickiewicz epoch and that of the present generation. I have in mind Władysław Broniewski, popular among the diarists. "I liked him very much", writes the above-cited farmer, diarist No 5397, "and I know some of his verses by heart. My oldest brother was once inebriated with his poetry". That oldest brother was born in 1932.

Why is romanticism so close to that young generation of the Polish People's Republic? The answer is not difficult. For it is romanticism that made them discover the autonomy of the human personality and linked it with the freedom of the nation and the highest ideals of the national culture. It thus led to the discovery of their own autonomy, the liberation of the personality from class bonds and its union with the highest ideals of humanity in a climate of national freedom, the socialist revolution brought that generation.

That youth regarded adversely the recent past of war and occupation, episodes of which they knew from childhood. That past contradicted their faith in mankind and they detached themselves from it. This is why young people were often impatient in their desire for social change. They wanted to separate themselves as quickly as possible from the horrors of war and occupation. While the picture of the recent past did not strengthen respect for the old order and the people associated with it and responsible for the war and occupation. "Some time ago", writes diarist No 5397, "when I went to school I liked war films and books. Today they repel me. I prefer psychological, moral films and books".

Moral elements are essential to the desire for self determination. It pertains not only to the romantic youth of that generation but also to its relation to the occupation.

THE PERSON OCCUPATION NEED FOR IDEOLOGY

The desire for personal autonomy is the basic element of all the diaries in that volume. Their content is always the human destiny depicted from the angle of its emancipation and the formation of autonomous persons. It may be said in this respect, on the basic of analysis, that the book is well represented by the 150 diaries rated as the best which were analysed as a unit[10]. There is no doubt that that is a significant feature of all the diaries submitted in the contest as of the general processes taking place in the young rural generation. We now examine the attitude to occupation in relation with that feature.

The diary of a graduate nurse, No 4725, born in 1935, focusses on the question of acquiring a vocation. The diary shows the obstacles on her road to the medical profession.

The link between the process of autonomization and occupation is clearly shown in the diary. The process of acquiring spiritual autonomy by means of occupation harmonizes in this diary with recollections of the family home. The childhood memories are marked by pride of the father, a farmer who moved to town and became a worker. The authoress is not only proud of the fact that her father was "educated" completed several forms of elementary school and had the reputation of a reasonable man and that he was a worker public activist. She is also proud of the fact that he was disinherited because coming from a large farm he married a poor girl. This diarist thus had in the family, in her father, an ideal of spiritual autonomy. That ideal is associated in her biography with the ambition of an independent profession of a doctor. The doctor's profession is associated here with the deeply-felt death of her father who beaten by Germans in 1942 died from lack of a medical care. She was satiated with fatherly love for many years and did not seek love. She has cultivated her father's image as a cultural person. "My father played the violin beautifully. I like music and understand it, especially serious music. When they play Beethoven I am somehow strong and brave. With Mozart I feel completely happy and peaceful. Bach's music somehow imbues me with repentance and greatness at the same time. It seems to me in general that a person indifferent to music is somehow an incomplete human being. The love for music was instilled in me by my father. On the whole, memories of the time father lived are my most plesant. Later hard times came for me and my family".

The ideal of being a cultured person, of an independent vocation useful to and respected by people, such is the content of personal autonomy here. The authoress does not consider herself a peasant woman. "I am the daughter of a farmer and later a worker". She has no peasant complexes and feels at home in the national culture. In the "Polish Service Brigade" she made friends with the daughter of a lawyer and the workers regarded them both young ladies.

Vocation as the foundation of personal autonomy becomes a leading trait in the diary No 3556. The authoress, with higher education and employed in the agricultural service, was born in 1936. The "peasant complex" is strongly stressed in this diary. Although this authoress had a better start in her family she was also broken up by the war – her father was a slave labourer. She was obsessed from childhood with a complex of being unwanted. She was needed, but only to herd cows. She was haunted by the feeling that she was an ugly, clumsy child. School aroused the ambition in her to become somebody. The teacher's friendliness captivated her heart. She needed recognition. She eagerly lapped-up her teachers' praise. She has suffered since childhood from the lack of company. She had no friends and no professional colleagues. Haunted by a feeling of being ugly, she craves distinction. "The dream of my childhood was to write novels, and of my girlhood, to be a teacher". Both dreams instilled by adults, arose from the lack of friends of her age.

What is very significant in this diary is that the authoress has no feeling of spiritual inferiority but suffers from difficulty in associating with her contemporaries, out of fear of appearing badly brought up, inelegant.

She is uncomfortable at the table out of fear of not behaving well. She is glad to be seen dancing with an elegant young man.

Against the background of this way of life, the diarist forms a philosophy of faith in people. "I consider the most important thing in life", she writes, "despite everything, to have confidence in people, in their nobility, goodness and strength". She hence feels as a spiritual stain her hostile treatment of a Jewish child during the occupation who asked for some potatoes. The personality pattern is autonomized here by the ideal of a highly moral person.

That ideal is negated by the reaction of some people to her peasant origin. She does not idealize the peasant ways, work and culture, but humanity. For the sake of humanity it is regarded proper to acquire education, hence her craving for the upbringing work of a teacher - which she, although she did not meet with a friendly reception. Her ideal of humanity finds no support either in the environment of her contemporaries or in the organized socio-political movement in which she does not participate.

That ideal is negated even by her husband from an intelligentsia family with class prejudices in relation to peasants and the "boorish" origin of his wife. Conflict in this respect leads her to doubt whether it is worth giving a higher education to people like her husband.

Another woman diarist, 937, born in 1937, became a teacher after a childhood of hunger. She traversed the path from a situation of dominant biological needs to that of personality. School was a decisive factor in her career. "I knew only one thing", she writes, "there was no life for me except in school". She deeply felt failures in school. Her family lacked historical memory. Everything in her biography begins with the present--hunger and troubles during the war. The teacher's profession is everything to her. The school inculcated that ideal in her, as in the previous diarist. She is unhappily married. "I do not imagine life without constant work". She supplements her professional activity with public work. She belongs to the Union of Rural Youth and The People's Party.

Significant here is that she considers her profession to be a mission, although she does not use this term. One's profession as a mission is an idea close to romanticism.

The diary of a young woman teacher, No 5387, born in 1943, occupies a separate place. Here the teacher's mission also comes into bold relief, but it is accompanied by a capital process of national identification. The linking of the mission with the national idea is glaring in this diary.

The idea of humanity associated with that of the nationality is the ideological superstructure of the occupation belonging to the old tradition and strongly consolidated in the romantic period.

Interesting in this connection is the different ideological superstructure in diary No 5285. This diary is an excellent document, for it not only traces the stages of advancement from the poorest strata of the rural population to the capital. It also demonstrates the conscious systematic intellectual effort to organize the historical memory, to acquire historical national awareness the core of which is socialism. The diarist, born in 1932, does not remember much of his life experience before the war. But that period is integrated in his historical knowledge conceived in a complete system of views on the totality of the historical process based on the theoretical foundations of Marxism. This diary shows how his vocation became for the author a means of cultivating socio-political ideology.

It is interesting to compare that biography with the previous ones. The social origin is the same, a similar role of the school and excellence in studies, the same absorption in books, married to a Warsaw woman, there is a like ideal of humanity. But that ideal is anchored here in socio-political ideology. While the social awareness of the above cited teachers was rather of an ethical character with an aesthetic admixture, the social consciousness of diarist No 5285 is that of a political activist. For the former the frame of reference for their personality pattern was an abstract ideal of humanity, here that pattern is activated in the political movement and party affiliation.

The childhood memories in this diary are treated by the author as an expression of the fate of peasant children in general. These recollections are linked with a synthesis of historical knowledge regarded by the author as his own history. According to that synthesis the revolt of Jakub Szela, the peasant rebellions in the days of Piłsudski and the socio-political movement to which he belonged is one continous historical process with which he is personally identified. He acquired spiritual autonomy, while voluntarily joining the historical process of the struggle for social justice. The point of departure of that process is personal autonomization from bondage to the peasant past, identification with the leader of the peasant revolt, his forbear Jakub Szela and with the idea of socialism.

The farmer's vocation is a separate problem. When one bears in mind the period of that generation's youth, then many questions appear in a new light. Not those who have left but those who have remained on the farm constitute a psychological puzzle. The period in question, 1945 1955, not only, wide opened the gate for the efflux of the young rural generation, but also aroused the desire for individuation. The individual farm was endangered at the same time. The kulak became an enemy of the people. Heightened aspirations for individual advancement together with declining opportunities for success in individual farming effected the great flight from agriculture.

What then, were the motivations for remaining in agriculture? They were as a rule latent in the strong family ties. The incentives for remaining on the farm did not come from the environment of age mates which, on the contrary, greatly stimulated emigration "... many lads, especially older ones", writes a young farmer, the diarist No 3655, born in 1944, "left for work. They travelled mainly to Silesia, to the mines where they earned money and had a good time. The rest of the youth, those who remained, envied them and only waited to become 18 years old to follow their older colleagues. Many young people left to study in various cities... But not all managed to leave... I am among them... a grey, colourless, life awaited us".

However, the diaries also show that on individual farms it is the young generation that strives most to modernize the farm and to establish various forms of organization. The young farmer on a 12 ha farm, diarist No 4329, writes: "Perhaps we will reach the conviction that we should make one farm in the village."

The young farmer remaining in agriculture does not want to be a slave any longer but a master. He gradually discovers many advantages of living on the farm, he has not observed before. The greater effort he puts into the farm and the greater his ambitions, the more he desires to see it not only beautiful but also important to the nation.

That evolution is indicated in the diary of a young farmer, No 3655. It is all the more interesting since he is one of the youngest: born in 1944. First, the diarist revolted against the fact that he must remain in the village. Consequently he went through a period of hooliganism and subsequently became a member of a youth organization dedicated to the transformation of the village into a centre of culture. In this evolution there again appears the characteristic merger of autonomous self-fulfillment and noble aims. Romantic love also appears in that context in the diary.

This diarist fell in love and spent every free moment with his girl. "... with her present" we read, "I was calmer in spirit, life became colourful. In her presence I learned to be always polite. It is she who imbued me with love for books by relating various fragments from literature. I began to read whatever books I could obtain... The book which left the deepest traces in my memory and aroused new thoughts and conclusions was Jack London's *Martin Eden* and to a lesser extent *The Pearl* by Kornel Makuszyński. All this made me to think of a change... a library became a necessity... for the present at home. There were just a few readers".

This beginning led to the organization in 1961 of a village circle of the Union of Rural Youth. "The affair of two years ago, that is the hooligan escapades", writes the author, "have gone – never to return. Now life aspires to other goals, we have an aim to struggle for and we are struggling... With the Union of Rural Youth came into being a small artistic ensemble... We as the members of the organization decided to haul wood from the forest and cut fire wood for every old man and woman in order to lighten their burdens".

They got together to build a cinema which they named "Public Deed". The diary concludes with the writer's intention to continue his studies at an agricultural technical school.

These processes are aided by new forces, i.e., new occupations which arise in the village but off the farm. Non-agricultural occupations in the rural areas open up possibilities for women to remain in the village outside the farm. From the village one may also travel to the capital, like the young librarian, diarist No 3558, born in 1943. The former "Warsaw goose", as a young farm wife born in 1943, diary No 5503, puts it, no longer impresses culturally the young rural generation.

Other circumstances act in the direction of uniting the forces of those of the young rural generation who emigrated to cities. Experience teaches them that there are still many prejudices in the cities towards people of the peasant origin and that there is not only little understanding of agriculture and the village. But that there is as well ever less justification for the claims of superiority in the sphere of culture.

Interesting in this respect is the diary No 3396 which closes the volume. The 20 year old diarist who finished general secondary school in Białystok in 1958, riding 22 km by train, writes about his village. There, he says, "the word student has lost its glamour". Nor was it an unusual event in the family when he and later his brother commenced their higher education at the Warsaw Polytechnical School. For his older brother had started studies before him at the Central School of Rural Economy in Warsaw. They overcame the rural complex and convinced themselves that they were not worse than others. The young rural generation no longer has to fight for the right to education. That was won by their predecessors. "I am aware", writes the diarist, "of the typicality of my life – the life of one born during the last war. The direct road to school and higher studies did not create any great and absorbing problems, there was nothing adventurous in it... it is not we but the older people who provided the conditions in which we live".

While the city has not yet lost its superiority over the village in relation to culture, there are many pluses on the side of the village. Why therefore not to choose an occupation which does not completely detach one from the village? "I did not want to remove myself from the affairs of the village, from the environment in which I live and which I know better than any other. This is why I am satisfied with the direction of my studies (geodesy)", writes this diarist.

All those professional careers, however differentiated, have one common feature; the careers and their material position are not enough for these diarists. Nor does the prestige attached to the professions suffice. The diaries are permeated with the need of socio-idealistic consecration in their professional activity. This professional consecration is attained by the diarists in various ways: by rendering the profession the nature of a mission (as in diary No 937), associating it with the idea of humanity, by linking it with the national idea (as in diary No 5387), by the ideology of socialism associated with party affiliation (as in diary No 5285 entitled *To Pay*

My Debt...). This is his need to render his life and professional activity an idealistic sense by linking them with the content transcending the individual.

The need for a superstructure based on occupation is all the greater, since in the traditional rural structure from which this generation broke away the individual's entire life was subordinated to extra-individual authority. The greater and more complete the break with tradition, the more deeply felt is an ideological vacuum that needs to be filled. Settling in the city, which provides better conditions for satisfying various needs and new aspirations, does not improve the individual's ideological situation. Contrary to the traditional rural structure, the modern city is in essence non-ideological. In respect of the ideological sense of life, the city causes our diarists many disappointments; it provides many things but not the climate of ideological life. It compels an individual to search for ideas by himself. And the ideological vacuum is all the more painful when the professional atmosphere lacks friendliness and comradeship. The need arises then for strengthening contact with the village one left. The forms of contact vary from strengthening family ties to participation in movements devoted to village needs and development.

The quest for an ideological superstructure based on occupation is one of the most striking features of the diaries. The feeling of this need was undoubtedly one of the motives for writing diaries. Those took to writing for whom professional activity was not enough and who felt the need for inter-personal contacts on the basis of common ideological extra-individual and beyond-professional values. It is difficult to determine the dimensions of this phenomenon in figures. But the fact that his feature is so pronounced in the large number of participants in the contest, who are undoubtedly among the more active culturally, is highly symptomatic of the socio-cultural transformation transpiring in the country.

Very important of the nature of the diaries of this kind, written in a short time, is not only the writer's age – or the phase of life – and not only the period covered by the diary, but also the historical period of the country during which the diary was written. Optimism and faith in life pulsating in these diaries stem not only from the fact that young people wrote about their youth, but also that they wrote in October 1956.

It should also be noted that in 1961, when the diary contest was announced, and the beginning of 1962, when they were written there were no important signs of a check on the large scale migration of young people from rural areas to cities and industrial centres. But statistics indicated then certain processes, noted also in the diaries, which were not however their dominant feature. I have in mind the easier access of urban youth to secondary and higher education.

Although, as the diaries clearly indicate, the rural areas and the provinces in general have undergone vast socio-cultural transformations, there are still some disproportions in the cultural conditions of life between city and country. This continues to be a dominant socio-cultural problem of the country's structure. The satisfaction of cultural needs lags behind the rising aspirations. The school situation was disquieting in this respect: the rural school was a weak link in the school system in respect of teachers' qualifications and teaching level. This, plus the general overcrowding of secondary schools, made the access of rural youth to secondary and higher education more difficult.

The data for 1960–1961 show that of the total number of 260, 418 pupils in general secondary schools, 42 per cent, come from the intelligentsia, about 23 per cent are workers' children and not quite 20 per cent are children of farmers[11].

"Tygodnik Kulturalny" and "Nowa Wieś" wrote as follows on the schooling obstacles faced by rural youth:

"It is calculated that in the school years 1961/62 and 1962/63 over 70 per cent who finished the 7th form were able to continue in secondary and vocational schools of different types. But this unusually high proportion breaks down unevenly for different environments. Urban youth has incomparably greater possibilities to choose a vocation and undertake studies in desired directions and in accord with their aptitudes than rural youth.

"Let us consider the following figures: in 1962 a total of 203194 young people were admitted to secondary schools, of which 73008 in rural areas. To general gymnasia – 103481, of which 32803 from rural areas. Of the 77 935 admitted to the first year of vocational schools, only 27 595 were from rural areas. Only 295 of 2217 admitted to secondary art schools were from the countryside.

"To make the picture more concrete", we read further, "let us take some figures from Warsaw Province. According to the estimates based on the data of the 1960 general census, the city of Warsaw numbered 1 162 500 inhabitants in 1961 and Warsaw Province – 2 359 700, of which: towns – 733 500 and villages – 1 626 200 inhabitants. How does the distribution of pupils in secondary schools of various types appear, in relation to the above figures?

"There are counties in Warsaw Province where the index of young people admitted to secondary school does not exceed 20 per cent. The Warsaw office of the Inspector General of schools, for instance, of about 28 000 pupils to the first class of secondary schools of all types admitted a little over 5000 youth from the province on the principle of a fixed limit – and from the nearest counties at that. Of that number about 500 were admitted to general secondary schools from the rim of the capital.

"The educational authorities of large cities explain the application of local limits by their cities' economic development plans. They point out to the difficulties in meeting the needs of their young people with the available funds, etc. etc.

"That these explanations have certain grounds cannot be denied; but such a viewpoint somehow clashes with the principle of our social system, or, at least, with the fact that schooling in Poland is not accidentally centralized, that it bears a state character. But not only this is involved. The desire to recruit intelligentsia and specialist personnel from every social environment results from the concern to assure our economy and culture an inflow of the most valuable individuals capable of bringing new content into our social life. Assurance of an equal start to rural youth is a postulate not only in the interests of the rural areas but in the general national interest."[12]

Table 1

	Warsaw City	Warsaw Province
General secondary schools	24 676	22 991
Elementary vocational schools	23 011	17 932
Technical vocational and vocational schools of the gymnasium degree	29 166	14 010
Extra mural vocational technical school	15 868	2 215
Art schools, first and second degree	3 137	372

I quote the above statistics for they supplement the picture drawn in the diaries. While the diaries depict the great transformations of the last two decades, the statistical data cited signalize the limitation of those processes flowing from the objective social and economic relations, such as the quantity and range of schools of various types and their location and accessibility to youth of various environments.

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BRONISŁAW GOŁĘBIOWSKI

THE YOUNG GENERATION'S ASPIRATIONS AND ORIENTATIONS

"The young generation" is a category which embraces all peers born in a few consecutive years, who as a whole have specific aspirations and attitudes that can be shown to constitute a new social value corresponding to certain changes which have occurred in the social structure and culture, and whose aspirations and attitudes are sufficiently different from those of the preceding generation of young people who formed an immediately antecedent link in the cultural genealogy. On the basis of this criterion we can identify three different generations living in Poland in the middle of the twentieth century[1].

1. The generation of the turn of 19th and 20th centuries, encompassing people who were born between 1890 and 1915, and whose adolescence fell in the 20 years' long period between the world wars. Most of the authors of biographies included in a publication on rural youth of that period, which served as a source material for the four volume work by Józef Chałasiński, *Młode pokolenie chłopów* (*The Young Generation of Peasants*), 1938, recruited from that generation. Among 1544 participants in the biography contest whose contributions were collected to form those four volumes, 922 persons were born between 1890 and 1916, and 501 between 1917 and 1924.

2. The generation of the first half of the 20th century, born in years 1916 through 1940, whose adolescence fell in the forties and fifties. Members of this generation contributed the largest collection of young people's diaries ever amassed in Poland. The diaries were written by the participants of a country-wide contest organized in early 60's. The biographies submitted for the contest were collected in a series of scientific publications on the young rural generation in People's Poland. 5290 authors of diaries were included in a statistical report which showed that 2500 authors had been born between 1916 and 1940, and approximately 2400 between 1941 and 1954 (for the remaining 550 persons pertinent data have not been obtained). A major part of the authors who participated in this biography contest belonged to the youngest cohort of the contemporary population.

3. The generation of the middle 20th century, born in 1941 through

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1965, whose adolescence started in early 60's and will continue to materialize as a social value in the 70's and 80's. This generation includes authors of several biographical collections: *Moje pierwsze kroki w gospodarstwie*, 1968 (*My First Steps on the Farm*). *Obywatelskie exposé mlodych*, 1969 (*Young Citizen's Exposé*), *Pamiętniki mlodzieży robotniczej*, 1974 (*Young Worker's Diaries*), etc.

This paper concentrates on aspirations and life-orientations of the youngest generation of the contemporary population. It will offer a proposal of typology, and endeavour an analysis of the evolution observed within this generation, and an attempt to characterize the main trends of changes.

By aspirations I mean interests, needs and drives that an individual intends to carry out, claims to their fulfilment, without certain limits of time and in certain conditions, through his own activity, other people's efforts or both. An attitude is a long lasting readiness and determination to carry out the dominant aspirations. They are the motivating force of this characteristic behavior of an individual with which he responds to events and objects of the social reality taken as a whole. An orientation is simply an attitude in its preparatory stage, directed towards a particular activity or towards the occurrence of some awaited activities and occurrences.

There is a strict dialectic interdependence between aspirations and orientations. Aspirations are the motives of attitudes and consequently the motives of interactions; through these interactions they become components of emerging new personality traits which stimulate occurrence of new orientations, etc.

A survey of aspirations and orientations was conducted in the 60's mainly on the basis of diaries of young people from different social environments. At the end of 1971 a survey based on questionnaires which had been elaborated a few years later was started and carried out with the professional assistance of sociological interviewers from the Public Opinion Research Center and Program Studies. In November 1971 interviews were conducted with persons in a representative sample, which brought 1948 filled out questionnaires (against 2000 expected responses). The survey was entitled: Young People, Self-Assessment and Life Goals. The questionnaire contained 28 principal questions and 14 reference questions concerning personal identification data of the respondents. The survey covered a few peer groups of the generation of persons born in Poland in the middle of the 20th century (14 age groups born between 1942 and 1955, being at the time of the survey from 16 to 29 years old)[2].

ASPIRATIONS OF YOUNG PEOPLE AND DIRECTIONS OF THEIR EVOLUTION

The analysis of young people's aspirations as they have been witnessed in the diaries collected in 1966 shows a quantitative preponderance of aspirations to cultural values (aspirations concerning material and vocational values, participation in culture and organized leisure, skills and knowledge, personal development, acquisition of social status and prestige – combined total approx. 41 per cent) over aspirations to assume social roles (those of a social reformer, activist and leader, citizen, moralist, promoter of cultural development – combined total approx. 33 per cent) and over the aspirations concerning social ties and relations (ties within formal groups, state and national ties, intergenerational ties – approx. 25 per cent)[3].

This analysis was, however, of a typological character and could not be claimed to have not the criteria of representativeness. Quantitative evaluations were only valid if directly referred to the population of the authors of the diaries. Hence the question arose, to what extent the results of the survey made in 1971 indirectly corroborated the typology of aspirations suggested by the diaries, and, what was even more important, what trends of changes were revealed by the material available from the survey?

It has been found that the answers to the questions included in the survey attested the dominance of the aspirations concerning vocational and material values, aspirations to skill and knowledge and to informal ties, just as it has been the case with the findings made on the basis of the diaries collected ten years earlier. The survey also supported another conclusion drawn from the analysis of those diaries, namely that the aspirations of the rural youth were not far different from the aspirations of the Polish youth taken as a whole, which means that certain common ideals of life, a common model of culture and a common system of values were prevalent among the whole young generation. Dissolution of environmental barriers proved that any characterization of the rural youth as a separate social group notably different from other peer groups was theoretically unsound. This conclusion will now be supported with some specific findings of the survey.

The survey included a question concerning principal ends which constitute components of a happy life, requiring of the respondents to pick out three from fifteen suggested values. The results of these choices of values instrumental in creation of happiness which gained at least 25 per cent of support are shown in Table 1.

We may wish to know if in the light of these findings the aspiration to have "an interesting work" was sufficiently fulfiled.

All the people who were employed gainfully, including farmers (1514 persons) were asked the question: "Can you say that your work is..." and 6 different possibilities were suggested as a continuation of the sentence. The responses are presented in Table 2.

38 per cent of respondents claimed to have had full satisfaction from their work. 31 per cent took their work instrumentally (as a source of financial remuneration), 26 per cent believed it was a necessity or even a calamity. This distribution convincingly showed that the interviewed generation was not able to sufficiently fulfil their aspirations to having a satisfactory job

Table 1

Values Contributing to a Happy Life

Life goals	City population*	Rural population	Total population
	per cent of respondents		
Successful family life	51.7	52.8	52.5
High income	41.8	39.3	39.8
Peaceful life without unpleasant surprises	29.1	32.7	30.2
Great love returned	27.1	28.2	29.5
Satisfactory work	26.7	27.9	27.5

* Including cities over 100000 population only. Population of towns below 100000 have been excluded, since, against to my expectation, they did not contrast with youth from other categories. The excluded category was very numerous but did not affect the per cent results in the category "total population".

Table 2

Self-Evaluation of Work Performed by Respondents

Evaluation of work	City population*	Rural population	Total population
	per cent of respondents		
Principally, it is a source of making money	32.4	29.2	31.2
The work gives me satisfaction	33.5	26.7	29.5
My work is a necessity	23.2	24.3	23.4
The work I have is my vocation	5.5	10.6	8.3
No opinion	2.2	3.6	3.4
It is a miserable burden	2.8	3.1	2.6
No answer	0.6	2.5	1.5

* Including cities over 100000 population only. Population of towns below 100000 have been excluded, since, against to my expectation, they did not contrast with youth from other categories. The excluded category was very numerous but did not affect the per cent results in the category "total population".

or an interesting work. This problem partly stemmed from a partial hampering of the vocational and family ideal realizations within the population of young persons. Effective remedies against these obstacles were instituted by reforms and countermeasures undertaken from 1972 to 1974 provided for by the resolutions of the Seventh Plenary Convention of the Central Committee of the United Polish Worker's Party (Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza), such as: a reform of the national system of education, a reform of policies of vocational employment, intensified vocational preparation of youth, new housing policies, etc.

The hierarchy of needs concerning material values as stated in the answers to the questionnaire proved to be similar in the town and in the village. In the preceding generation such congruence was hardly conceivable.

The pertinent question was worded as follows: "If you had at the present about one hundred thousand zlotys at your disposal, how would you spend it?". The respondents were requested to pick out three from nine possibilities, or if necessary, add new possibilities which had not been included. The results are shown in Table 3.

Table 3

Hierarchy of Needs and Material Goods

Needs and goods	City population*	Rural population	Total population
	per cent of respondents		
Appartment (getting one, having it furnished, moving into a bigger one, etc.)	57.6	55.5	57.4
Making savings	30.9	38.6	34.7
Buying cloth, a tape recorder a TV set, sports equipment, etc.	38.2	30.5	32.4
Helping family, brothers, sisters, etc.	29.1	34.0	31.2
Entertainment: going abroad, participation in culture and social life	35.4	19.7	25.4
Automobile	23.4	25.8	23.0
Getting married, having children and making a good start	16.4	27.2	23.5
Studies (continuation or changing profession)	19.4	22.2	21.7
Getting some rest from overwork	8.7	8.1	8.2
Others	0.6	2.0	1.1
No answer	–	0.1	0.1

* Including cities over 100000 population only. Population of towns below 100000 have beed excluded, since, against to my expectation, they did not contrast with youth from other categories. The excluded category was very numerous but did not affect the per cent results in the category "total population".

It is clearly evident that by far the most important investment to be made was obtaining an apartment of one's own. Three next choices, each gathering more than 30 per cent of votes were also connected with planning for future, with the intention to build a home or with a desire to bring help to the family, brothers or sisters – to share the sudden stroke of luck with the persons of the closest family. Luxuries, like an automobile, came only later. This is a very significant structure: It testifies to a widespread preference to have basic aspirations carried out in the first place, family aspirations in the second, and aspirations to skill and knowledge in the last order.

ATTITUDES OF YOUNG PEOPLE

Assuming the definition of an attitude as a long lasting readiness to undertake specific activities in order to obtain the ends satisfying dominant interests, drives and needs, i. e. to carry out dominant aspirations, the analysis of the diaries collected in early 60's which depicted attitudes of young people suggested identification of four basic attitudes: 1) reformative, 2) program oriented, 3) rebelious, and 4) traditional. Quantitative evaluation which apart of the population of the biography authors did not meet the criteria of representativeness, pointed to the absolute preponderance of the reformative attitudes (57 per cent over program oriented attitudes (16 per cent), rebelious (14 per cent) and traditional ones (13 per cent)[4].

Two typological criteria have been used: 1) rational motivation of the demand for changes (reformative and program oriented attitude), and 2) emotional protest vs. acceptance of the status quo and meek approval of the existing models (rebelious versus traditional attitudes). Since the population of all the participants in the biography contest consisted of persons who accepted the social and political principles of People's Poland, the latter criterion referred in fact to the degree of conservatism or to the orientation toward conceivable changes within the basic socialist framework of the social and political reality. It was possible to identify four specific attitudes within these limits of general outlook:

1. positivist attitudes, moderately conservative, and generally corresponding to the reformative attitude;
2. revolutionary attitudes, oriented towards progressive programs corresponding to the program oriented attitude;
3. contesting attitudes, radically progressive; corresponding to the rebelious attitude;
4. conservative attitudes corresponding to the traditional attitude.

It should be stressed, that in early 60's among the young people who wrote diaries, – and for this single reason, if none other, differed from the social average – positivist and moderately conservative, reformative attitudes were dominant, and were expressed in the diaries by adherence to the rationally designed programs of action directed toward realization of short term, concrete cultural or social values that fitted easily in the generally accepted system of goals of a local community, vocational group, culture, social and political system, family model, etc. These attitudes were found dominant among 57 per cent of the population of the diary authors.

The survey made it possible to screen attitudes with respect to selected fragments of social reality only, e. g. it was able to scrutinize attitudes toward work or the enterprise giving employment, etc. Overall attitudes, or in other words, life-long attitudes, are too complex a category to be subjected to necessary standardization that must be performed in order to obtain findings from a questionnaire which primarily contains closed questions. For this reason, all possible comparisons of the conclusions drawn from the analysis of the diaries with the findings of the survey: "Young People, Self-Assessment and Life Goals", completed at the end of 1971, must be made cautiously and cannot have but a fragmentary value.

The questionnaire contained the following question: "What objective, that our country is contemplating to achieve is the most important in your opinion?". Again, the question was complemented with the instruction that no more than three possibilities could be chosen to indicate which of the eight rather concretely formulated general goals should be given priority. The respondents were offered a chance to put down additional goals if they thought it desirable. The results are shown in Table 4.

Table 4

National Objectives

National objectives (supported with more than 25 per aut of votes)	City population*	Rural population	Total population
	per cent of respondents		
A decisive improvement of living standards	82.3	75.4	78.5
Development and modernization of agriculture	36.0	66.9	49.9
Development and modernization of industry	45.3	33.6	40.8
Higher standards and wider accessibility of social benefits (nurseries, kindergartens, medical services, care for the aged, etc.)	33.3	37.0	34.5
Greater participation of citizens in making decisions on the state level	32.7	29.5	32.9
Supported with less than 25 per cent of votes			
Development of culture and science	19.2	21.0	20.1
Conservation of nature and living organisms from adverse effect of civilization	21.7	13.6	16.1
International cooperation	11.9	9.3	11.2
Other tasks listed by respondents	2.4	0.9	2.0
No answer	—	0.2	0.3

* Including cities over 100 000 population only. Population of towns below 100 000 have been excluded, since, against to my expectation, they did not contrast with youth from other categories. The excluded category was very numerous but did not affect the per cent results in the category "total population".

I would like to point out in this place one, rather crucial aspect of the findings. It has turned out that the rural youth attaches less importance to the improvement of the standard of living, to the desirability of entrusting citizens with wider responsibilities in making decisions concerning the state as a whole, and to the development and modernization of industry. On the other hand, they expect to see a development and modernization of agriculture and hope for a wider accessibility and higher quality of social benefits. This seems to be a characteristic trait in the orientation of the rural youth.

Attitudes of disapproval had a chance of being expressed in response to the question: "What negative social phenomena seem to impede the progress of our country?", which was complemented with the instruction saying that the respondent should select three out of fourteen possible answers in order to indicate which phenomena seemed to him particularly noxious. Additionally, he was encouraged to identify other problems which were not mentioned, see Table 5.

The answers to this question are more differentiated, although clusters of similar responses testify to the existence of the same attitude which we detected in the analysis of Table 4. Identification of phenomena that impede realizations of values typical for family life and professional work coincides with the attitude which has been found dominant in Table 4, eventually aiming toward realization of aspirations connected with the same ideals. Differences between the choices made by the rural youth and the urban youth were again significant.

It is characteristic that the respondents when identifying obstacles to the progress of the whole country concentrated primarily on social vices

Table 5

Obstacles to National Development

Supported with more than 20 per cent of votes	City population*	Rural population	Total population
	per cent of respondents		
Wastefulness and disrespect of social property	46.7	49.6	47.0
Bureaucracy	33.3	37.0	35.5
Nepotism	30.1	30.2	30.5
Habitual drinking	19.8	33.3	26.3
Suppression of criticism	26.7	19.9	23.4
Indolence, ignorance and indifference	26.5	16.7	21.7
Supported with less than 20 per cent of votes			
Poor work, low quality of work	17.2	19.8	18.2
Incompetence of persons in charge of decision making	21.4	12.9	17.0
Bribery	10.3	21.9	16.2
Careermongering	15.8	12.6	15.2
Lack of courage, lack of opinion	14.1	12.1	13.6
Abuse of authority	13.9	12.6	13.0
Idleness, laziness	8.9	8.5	8.7
Stealing	8.7	9.3	8.3
Other obstacles listed by respondents	1.2	0.5	0.8
No answer	0.6	0.4	0.4

* Including cities over 100 000 population only. Population of towns below 100 000 have been excluded, since, against to my expectation, they did not contrast with youth from other categories. The excluded category was very numerous but did not affect the per cent results in the category "total population"

rather than on the futility of programs and activities directed against these vices. The obstacles selected as those which handicapped the development of the whole country most miserably were: waste and disrespect of social property, bureaucracy, nepotism, habitual drinking and suppression of criticism.

It is by no means fortuitous that the rural youth was more infrequently than the urban youth of the opinion that the progress of the country is hampered by lack of initiative, indolence, indifference, deficient competence on the part of people who are responsible for vital decisions suppression of criticism and career-mongering. On the other hand, they strongly stressed such notorious social vices as drunkenness, bribery, wastefulness and carelessness about social property.

A hypothesis may be ventured that those severe vices and malpractices affected rural environment in the 60's with particular force. They must have elicited among village youth frequent rebelious responses or, conversely, may have occasioned more cautious, traditional and conservative reactions, contributing to the development of orientations which can be characterized by limited engagement in the efforts undertaken in order to overcome these phenomena or by concentration on narrow reforms concerning one's closest environment and immediate surroundings without attempts or ambitions to cope with the same problems on the society scale.

Attempting to single out complete models of attitudes approved of by the respondents, three typical characters have been outlined to be selected by the respondents as a model young man. To prevent deformations issuing from the fact that the respondents could directly identify themselves with any of the characters, they were not asked whether they wanted to be like any of the characters described. Instead, making use of projections of one's own ideals on the children, the question aimed to reconstruct the genuine attitudes of the respondents by requiring of them to decide: "Which of the three biographies of different young people, about 30 years old now, would you prefer to resemble most closely the life of your son?" The question was addressed both to those persons who had and to those who did not have children. Now is the verbatim description of the three characters, and the distribution of preferences: Andrew is self-confident and anxious to secure high income. He can find well paid jobs and always finds a way to make some more by moonlighting. He has a nice house, a fancy car and often goes abroad with his family. He is proud that all that he's got, he has got by himself.

Urban youth – 45.0 per cent
Rural youth – 40.9 per cent
Average for the total population – 42.3 per cent

John is a hard working man. He's got a handsom income and he enjoys his well regulated and systematic life. He can always spare some time for his family and friends. He enjoys going to cinema, reading books and making trips.

Urban youth – 36.5 per cent
Rural youth – 40.9 per cent
Average for the total population – 39.4 per cent

Peter has an interesting job and he is totally absorbed by what he is doing. All his time is taken up by his work, since he must be constantly improving his skills and his knowledge. He hasn't got much time for his private life or entertainment. But he refuses to change his job even if he is offered a better paid position, if it gaves him no chance to prove his worth. He belives he will make a major discovery some day.

Urban youth – 17.4 per cent
Rural youth – 18.0 per cent
Average for the total population – 13.3 per cent

Once again it is a proof of approval of success through work (Andrew 42.3 per cent), approval of the ideal of family and vocational happiness (John – 39.4 per cent) and an expression of a measured scepticism about the glamour of hard work which leaves one no time for personal life and guarantees no success (Peter – 18.3 per cent who may or may not make a discovery). No major differences between urban and rural youth could be noted. Only the second model, of balanced hard-working John, living a regulated family life, was selected slightly more often by the rural youth, also slightly more infrequently were they ready to select the pattern set by Andrew, who worked hard but at the same time made a lot of money. Peter, absorbed by work and learning, and putting all his hopes in a possible discovery, was almost equally unpopular among the village and the city youth.

ASPIRATIONS, ORIENTATIONS, OPINIONS

This comparison of survey results with the findings of the analysis of aspirations expressed in the diaries written in early 60's gives ground for the following working hypothesis.

In the second half of that decade, the traditional model of a reformative social activist, adhered to by members of the generation whose youth fell in the first half of the 20th century: the youngest echelon of the Związek Młodzieży Polskiej (Association of Polish Youth) and the oldest echelons of Związek Młodzieży Socjalistycznej (Association of Socialist Youth) and Związek Młodzieży Wiejskiej (Association of Rural Youth) has lost some of its attraction. Aspirations to the role of a social reformer and a leader-activist have been overshadowed by the aspirations to acquire professional and material values, aspirations to skills and knowledge and aspirations to developing personal ties within small informal groups. A more profound analysis of this process is necessary before a positive diagnosis of the attitudes and aspirations prevalent among young people can be made, and before a prognosis of their evolution in young generation and in the whole society can be ventured.

The emerging new model is not a petit bourgeois ideal or at least it does not appear to be so in the light of the analysis of the diaries written by young workers and submitted for a competition in 1973. Young workers writing diaries had a number of fundamental personality traits – I am referring to those only which are, in my opinion, the most important and characteristic of the system of value activating overall behavior and the system of norms and evaluations, typically associated with the contemporary workers' class, and particularly with its younger generation[5]. First, they seem to consider work, if it is creative and satisfying, as a supreme value. They would not go for any work that comes around. A poorly organized wasteful effort that gives little result, not because of objective considerations but solely because of faults made by individuals in charge has a strongly negative value. The supreme value embraces therefore only the creative and satisfying activity. Against this background the problem of professional qualifications and the problem of proper matching of personal interests with the requirements of the work to be done becomes specially relevant. The survey attested to the strong approval of the value expressed as: "Having a good job, a vocation that gives satisfaction and an opportunity to have work that one likes to do".

Second, more importance is attached in this group of young people (in comparison with rural youth or students) to personal independence, conceived as a personal dignity. This phenomenon may also be called autonomy of personality or individualization of participation in culture. It is a feeling that one has the right to maximize the chances of success in his life, with simultaneous understanding of the prerequisites of such a success: hard work, responsibility, discipline; etc. Undoubtedly, the feeling of having this right and the willingness to maximize the chances of success are stronger motives than the feeling that success implies fulfilment of certain obligations. But this is only natural, and does not interfere with reinforcement of the ideal of a happy life among young people. This happy life is understood to be determined by individual plans, social needs, talents and life goals.

Third, the importance attached to non-formal ties, i.e. to love and friendship is clearly gaining weight. These highly personal values are individual, and perhaps transitory, typically adolescent, remedies against excessive institutionalization and formalization of social life and conditions of work. Love, family happiness and a circle of friends are highly esteemed values both among the authors of diaries and the respondents of the survey. A new type of social ties consisting in a harmony between the social and personal factor, in the balancing of emotional reactions with rational endeavours, becomes an important value of personal life and a component of the emerging socialist personality.

Fourth, a desire could be noted to overcome conflicts between different social roles, to make words correspond to acts, and facts to theory, to eliminate contradictions from personal views and aspirations, to clean personal and social life from contamination of arbitrariness, to reduce tensions which arise not from attempts to combat obstacles of one sort or another but from incongruity of attitudes and contradictions within subjective orientations caused by anti-social inclinations of individuals or groups or by pernicious common vices. On the other hand, all that is honest, reliable, trustworthy and vocationally dignified was highly estimated. It is therefore a desire to bring true personality into the community of pro-socialist attitudes, irrespective of minor differences of views and values between people.

Fifth, inquisitiveness of the world, tendency to transcend individual limitations, reveries of enormous feats and a protest against being reduced to a more or less narrow sphere of vocational group were found to be quite popular feelings. Possibly, it was a symptom of the changes to come, of the determination to test all chances and try all possibilities, to break open from the confinement to a singular environment and to a single category of life prospects. This inquisitiveness is followed by criticism, but that is another issue. A new open-minded personality is emerging, and it can be most clearly observed among young workers, even though it may also appear in a nebulous form among the white collar youth. And although at the beginning of the 70's this trait was hardly perceptible among the rural youth, it seems to have been recognized by them as a new ideal, suggested, perhaps, by family and social contacts between the town and the village, and strengthened by the growing prestige of the farmer, particularly in the period of building a fully developed socialist society.

These five principal features, which I see no need to complement with additional description, constitute a fairly uniform image of a young generation, its system of values and system of evaluation criteria. Three values are found in the core of that system: creative work, social equality (conceived as an equality of chances and duties) and personal autonomy.

This roughly outlined system of values manifested by aspirations and life goals of the contemporary Polish youth does not explain the existing situation as much as the direction of the dynamic process which evolves under the influence of general complex macrosociological and microsociological factors. But these deserve to be treated separately. This analysis has been able to show instead, that the attitudes and life-goals of young people in People's Poland suggest what may be the crucial elements of culture in the developed socialist society in Poland, whose creation was deemed a particular historical task of the Party and the present phase of the country development, according to the pronouncements of the Seventh Plenary Convetion of the United Polish Worker's Party[6].

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5. Compare: *Pamiętniki mlodzieży polskiej*, t. 1: *Oblicza mlodości* (*Diaries of Polish Youth*, Vol. 1: *Faces of Adolescence*), "Iskry", Warszawa 1974, pp. 560.
6. This article will be published in Polish in the third issue of the Quarterly "Przekazy i Opinie" (issue 1 in 1976) which concentrates on the problems of mass media, systems of disseminating information and propaganda and on public opinion. The quarterly has been published by the Public Opinion Centre and Program/ Studies of Polish Radio and TV in Warsaw since Summer 1975.

MIKOŁAJ KOZAKIEWICZ

THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE DIFFERENT MEANINGS OF UNEQUAL ACCESS TO EDUCATION

If in any country and in any domain the slogan of egalitarianism (of laws, chances, possibilities, conditions, etc.) begins to be formulated, then we are as often confronted with a tacitly or loudly assumed presence in the same domain of more or less glaring inequalities. According to the manner of defining the inequality itself, its size can differ, and other remedial measures will become necessary. Many misunderstandings about the "equality of the start" of Polish youth could be avoided if the discussing persons became aware of what sort of equality they are interested in, and which inequality they do come out against. It seems that in this matter one may speak of an "inequality" in the access to schools of various types and ranks, conceived in at least four ways:

1. The "inequality of participation" of the representatives of various social groups in the attending of schools of various type rank measured by the degree of deviation from the principle of full parallelism and of the proportionality in the share of the given professional category in the whole nation, as compared with its share in, for instance, studies of university level. We should speak of the lack of such an inequality if the social composition of every rank and type of school faithfully or with great approximation reproduced the social composition of the entire national population.

2. "The inequality in utilising the intellectual potential" slumbering in every social class. This inequality appears in the debates on the subject of "non-utilized talents", of the "sieves that lose diamonds", etc. Only gifted and talented pupils from all social groups are the point of reference for measuring the thus conceived "inequality". With this conceiving of educational inequalities, a society can be imagined in which the social composition of schools ware far from the social proportions characterising the whole national population, but which society would be admitted to be egalitarian for the utilization of the reserves of talents and abilities (that is of the most gifted pupils) to an equal extent in all social groups. This would be therefore an equality of chances for the able and ablest ones, while the principles of egalitarianism

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would not hold good for the remaining people just because of the intellectual inequalities.

3. "The inequality of chance" for meeting the dreams, aspirations and trends cherished by youth irrespective of the degree of their justification and reality. Whereas in the first variant of inequality it is tacitly assumed that a fraction of pupils of a particular social origin, proportional to its share in the total population should participate in all ranks of educational training in the second variant it is asserted that those who "deserve" to have equal chances by their level of intelligence, knowledge or aptitudes should have these chances, in the third variant it is maintained that those who desire to have these equal chances should enjoy them, irrespective of the fact whether they "deserve them objectively".

4. "The inequality of start" conceived as the economic, social and cultural inequality of the conditions under which the child develops, grows, learns and matures, as this handicaps the development of its intelligence, hinders the development of interests and capabilities, impedes the passing to ever higher grades of learning, and particularly prevents the accession to institutions of higher learning. No special evidence is needed for the fact that every time the background differs against which the problem of the still existing social inequalities is set, there is another kind of reasoning against this inequality and entirely different remedial measures. The postulate of "an equal share" and the principle of proportionality to the social composition of the entire national population results from the general political and ideological principle of democracy. This postulate makes it possible to manipulate the social composition of schools

It can be imagined in theory that, as a result of such interventions and manipulations, institutions of learning will be created which willbe ideally egalitarian in this meaning which, however, will be glaringly unegalitarian in the other three meanings of the "inequality" of accession to education. Thus for example it would "be enough" in Poland to double the number of students of peasant origin in university-grade schools in order to obtain an egalitarian (in the last meaning) compositions of the school of university-grade (as the percentage of peasant-students will correspond to the percentage of peasants in the national population). This would, however, be only a semblance of equality, as—if at present ca. 1 per cent of every age-group of peasant youths acceed to university education—after the above measure some 2 per cent of them would accede to these studies and this would nevertheless be several times lower than in other social groups, particularly in the group of the intelligentsia and white-collar workers.

Some of the definitions of "equality" carried into effect would conduct to the intensification of inequalities of another kind. Thus, for instance, if the efforts for eliminating the "inequalities in the utilization of potential abilities" slumbering in the various social classes and strata were crowned with full success, this would lead to a still greater infringement of the principle of the "proportionality of participation". The frequency of appearance of very intelligent and capable pupils in the individual social groups and strata would be the basis for measuring this type of equality or inequality, but not the numerical share of the various social categories in the total national population. The frequency appearance of very able pupils is higher (precisely because of the "inequality of start") in socially privileged groups, and it is lower in economically, culturally and socially underprivileged groups (Kostrzewski, 1966;[1] B. Wilgocka-Okoń, 1972;[2] M. Kozakiewicz, 1971; Z. Kwieciński, 1970[4]).

No wonder that this variant of conceiving "equality and inequality" in access to education is mainly put forward by managers of economy and production, science and administration who are prone to think in the categories of pragmatic efficiency and effectivity of the utilization of the reserves of abilities for the needs of an economic development of the country. The advocates of the thus conceived "equality in access to education" are logical from the point of view of their premisses when they are in principle against the social bonus granted according to the class criterion asserting that a place at an institution of higher learning cannot be the subject of organizational manipulations, but that it has to bee the outcome of a free competition of the talents and knowledge of the candidates irrespective of their social origin.

While the advocates of equality conceived as the "equality and proportionality of participation" are concerned about the fulfilment of the promises of socialist egalitarianism and about securing the class structure of the intelligentsia, the advocates of equality conceived as the "equality of utilization of intellectual potentialities" are more anxious about the implementation of ambitious plans of economic development and about the process of economic growth being achieved by setting in motion all qualitatively best "cells of grey matter" irrespective of the social origin of their carriers.

This standpoint, whose weight and economic justness cannot be negated, has, however, besides the above-mentioned one, also another disadvantage, or at least a negative side effect. In practice it petrifies the actual state of inequality in the very chances of awakening and developing abilities and interests in the culturally and economically disadvantaged classes, taking for its starting point the unequal pools of outstanding or at least only prominent levels of knowledge and abilities of pupils from various social milieus, and it adjusts to them the structure of schools of the higher and highest level conducting to the rise of intellectual dynasties, and to a gradual narrowing of the channel of vertical social mobility at the bottom of the cultural and economic ladder with a gradual and parallel broadening of this channel at the top of this ladder.

The principle of equality conceived as equal chances for satisfying one's vital aspirations, dreams and tendencies, (apart from the fact, whether somebody is justified in planning so high a level of education for himself) is, in its radical shape, formulated mainly by youth itself and by its well-defined milieus and organizations. Although externally this principle is the most attractive one ("the right of everyone to realize one's own dreams") it is at the same time the most utopian and unrealistic one, if only because it makes abstraction in this case from the degree of practicability of the aspirations and dreams themselves, were it only measured by the intelligence and character and other qualifications of the person involved. The dreams and aspirations mentioned here are treated metaphysically, in abstraction from the social demand for certain types of professions, careers and human activity. Finally, this utopian postulate of equality of chances for the realization of dreams pays no attention to the down-to-earth but decisive fact that the level of dreams and aspirations itself is usually in a decisive manner determined and defined by the low economic, cultural and social status of the environment of origin; this is confirmed by nearly all investigations carried out to this subject in Poland and not only there (S. Kowalski, 1968;[5] 1972; M. Szymańska, 1973;[6] K. Suszek, 1971;[7] K. Gruberowa, 1967[8]). The securing (impossible, as a matter of fact) for everybody of equal chances for the realization of vital dreams and aspirations would not diminish, but it could even intensify the social disproportions in the vital achievements of people because of these disproportions in the level itself of vital aspirations and ambitions.

The advocates of the slogan "equal right of everyone to realize one's own dreams" in parctice are doing nothing to eliminate these disproportions in the level of aspirations of many young people who for various reasons, mostly soberly assessing the existing possibilities, aim low in life and are modest in their requirements (A. Sarapata, S. Widerszpil, K. Żygulski, 1966; A. Rajkiewicz, A. Preiss, 1968). Even if everybody fulfilled to an equal extent what he intended, the differences of inequalities would consist not in the discrepancy between the plan and its implementation (as deficiencies in implementation), but sometimes between talents and implementation (as a surplus of talent), or also between the upper limits of individual plans which will elevate their authors to very diverse ranks of the social ladder, in spite of an equal 100-per cent fulfilment. This will usually thus occur that those who started from higher starting points will arrive at a higher level. In effect such a state of things will result in a stiffening of the social stratification and in the stabilization of existing social disparities.

For these reasons only the fourth concept of the "equality in accession to education at all levels" creates the best prospects for the gradual realization of the slogan of full egalitarianism in this domain. The principle of "equal start" pays attention to the period in the life of every human being (early infancy, the age of elementary school) which is decisive for the development of the body, intellect and character of a child requiring for everybody equal or similar conditions for full intellectual development, the development of interests and attitudes, for setting a direction for vital tendencies and the raising of the level of aspirations (I. Reszke 1972;[9] M. Kozakiewicz, 1973;[10] F. Kolbusz, 1972[11]).

Only the identification of the equality of access to education with equalization of the economic, cultural and social conditions, under which people develop and grow, learn and are educated, is free from any risk and negative side effects which were indicated at former variants of the definition of "equality in accession to school of every level" which in practice means also "equality in the access to a number of socially desirable goods" (B. Gałęski, 1961[12]) (and also a higher economic status, share in the elite of power, culture, etc., higher social prestige and the like). What more, only the implementation of the principle of "equal start" is able to bring other variants of conceiving "equality" in this range in harmony with the ideology of socialism, and to make them free of negative side effects contrary to the promises of socialism. When identical or similar development conditions are secured to all people, we shall make come to light, in all social milieus, all or nearly all talents and aptitudes slumbering in them, and then we can make e.g. the right to occupy a place at an institution of higher learning the object of a competition of the mental levels themselves and of levels of knowledge, without fear that in some social categories the coming out of human abilities will be the rule while in other ones it will be only an exception.

On the background of real equality (or of nearly equality) of development conditions, the postulate of equal chances for the realization of dreams and aspirations will assume another aspect, as all social categories will have equal chances to awaken as ambitious aspirations, and thus the (inevitable) difference in vital preferences of people and in their individual abilities will remain the only regulator. With a relative equalization of the number of capable and most capable people in every social category, with a similar level of vital aspirations and ambitions, as a result of the equalization of the conditions under which all citizens develop, and improve a manipulation of the percentage share of representatives of various strata at institutions of higher learning, or in any other school simply looses any reason, as the differences which also then will inevitably appear, will not be an expression of social disproportions, but only inevitable fluctuations of a statistical nature (but not of social or ideological nature) in tastes, likes and preferences of some people (M. Kozakiewicz, 1970[13]).

Observing the practice of the majority of countries in the past three decennia of the 20th century it can be said that the care for percentage indices according to the principle of the proportionality of participation at university-grade schools grows in direct proportion to the growing social disproportions on which this inequality of participation depends. In reality, the struggle must be waged not with the disproportioned percentage figures, but with socio-economic and cultural disproportions splitting most societies. It is not necessary to add that these disproportions are much smaller in our country then in other countries and this is doubtless a positive consequence of the socialist system, but they still are great enough for full equality to be also in Poland a target still to be achieved.

Neither is it necessary to add that the identification of the "equality of access to education" with "the equal start" identified as a similarity of economic, cultural and social conditions under which people develop and learn is the most difficult variant to realize. No improvement of the statistical figures for the social composition of the ranks of students and pupils is involved in this variant, nor the use of the already existing fund of abilities, but a fundamental qualitative change of the society in the whole of the country is at stake, by means of making a whole network of capillaries penetrate into the most distant corners; by means of these vessels an equally valuable culture, civilization and technology, an entirely valuable science, an equally modern and consciously applied system of family, school and social education will spread, and this will mean a fundamental enrichment of the national fund of abilities and, by the same, much greater possibilities of economic and social development.

In spite of apparent simplicity of the idea of equality as "equality of participation", comparison, in the international scale, of data pertinent to this subject encounters tremendous difficulties. They are caused not only by the known and elsewhere occurring incomparability of structures of school systems (types of schools, educational standard, definition of the "higher school") but also by a completely different classification of social groups, whose equal or unequal access to education is assessed. The author came across this problem while preparing the book entitled *Promotion Barriers through Education* (M. Kozakiewicz, 1973[10]). Lest us confront, by way of example, only some classifications of the social background of students, applied in the seventies in different countries of Europe:[11]

Poland – 1. Workers; 2. Peasants; 3. White-collar workers; 4. Craftsmen; 5. Other categories.

Federal Republic of Germany – 1. Officials (Beamte), 2. Clerks (Angestellte); 3. Learned professions, independent farmers, dealers, industrialists and independent craftsmen, 4. Workers, 5. Others, not active professionally, or not qualified for classification.

France - 1. Farmers (2 subgroups); 2. Managers of enterprises and craftsmen (3 subgroups); 3. Learned professions (1 subgroup); 4. "cadres superieurs" (1 subgroup); 5. Intermediate staff (1 subgroup: teachers); 6. Clerks (3 subgroups); 7. Agricultural workers; 8. Workers (3 subgroups); 9. Others (3 subgroups).

Turkey - 1. Bourgeois class, 2. Middle class, 3. "Modest" class.

Yugoslavia – operates 9 social categories, among which, beside such big social groups as "workers" or "private and collectivized farmers", there appear narrow groups of "miners", "transport workers" or "trade salesmen".

Presumably, this very division into classes or social categories is most suitable for internal needs of each country. This makes, however, direct comparison, in the international scale, very difficult, if not impossible at all. Should we then wish, in the future, to have available the data illustrating, in a fully comparable way, the access of different social classes to education, on a higher level for example, a common viewpoint would have to be achieved on what is understood as higher school and along what criteria the social groups were to be classified, the possible inequality of which groups we are assessing.

The existing situation of full freedom in this field makes, however, not only theoretical studies on camparative education difficult. It renders difficult a more important task which is providing the authorities of individual states with assumptions for shaping educational policy and for finding remedial measures in the face of persisting social inequality in the access to education.

I shall try to discuss the practical implications of this state of affairs on the example of Poland.

Basing on the above quoted classification of social groups, the situation in the school year 1974/75 was as follows:

If we take into consideration that 29.5 p.c. of the total Polish population in 1970 made their living of agriculture, while 32 p.c. of active population worked in agriculture, then the insufficient representation of peasant youth on all levels of voluntary education in obvious. Similarly, there is to be noted the overrepresentation of the intelligentsia youth. Since there exists in Poland the *numerus clausus* in all higher educational institutions and in all secondary schools, it is clear that ways are sought to remove this striking disproportion along the principle of equality, understood as "equality of participation".

Table 1

Graduates and students according to their social background 1974/1975

	Total in thousands	Including: (in %)			
		workers	peasants	white collar workers	craftsmen and others
Among graduates of 8-grade compulsory school	615.9	44.4	27.7	18.4	6.9
Among pupils of secondary schools					
including: grammar-schools	482.7	37.5	12.9	45.7	3.9
vocational-, technical-schools	558.4	53.2	20.1	22.9	3.8
Among first year students	[a]73.4	[a]30.9	[a]11.2	[a]54.4	[a]3.5
admitted to studies in higher education	[a]36.4	[b]46.9	[b]30.9	[b]20.8	[b]1.4

Data of the Main Statistical Office, Statistical Yearbook 1975 p. 457.

[a] youths schools; [b] adults schools for working people

One of the methods was the application of the so-called preference points at the selection examination to the candidate of the worker and peasant descent, which improved his chances by 10 – 15 p.c. in comparison with other candidates. There were many opponents of this system, as it gave rise to serious reservations. For this reason it have been abandoned and cancelled in last years. The main objection was that in fact, the basis for granting this *sui generis* bonus for social descent was the formal affiliation of the father with such or other socio-professional category. Thanks to the socio-economic development of the country the affiliation to the category of workers, or of white-collars, not necessarily reflects anymore great differences in educational level, earnings possibility, number of children, etc. Very often these discrepancies are to-day reversed, as there are many workers with full grammar school level education, and at the sametime the system of wages prefers the skilled productive work rather than this of clerk one. The sociological research had proved many times, that chances for development and living are reduced by factors such as low educational level of the parents (mother, in particular) low monthly income per capita of the family, place of residence (village, off-the-beaten-track province), many children in the family, etc. And these really existing differences should be taken into account rather than formal affiliation with such or other socio-professional category. We can prove this with some examples taken from Western countries.

For example, as comparative research works go, what is the meaning of the French index 50.7 "agriculteurs indépendents" studying in higher educational institutions for each 1000 men professionally active in agriculture? It must be noted that the category of "agriculteurs indépendents" covers both owners of big, specialized estates and owners of declining farms in the South. In Belgium farmers who own at least 12.5 ha of land are considered as independent farmers, while in Poland – owners of from 2 ha up. In the Federal Republic of Germany one category of "Independent Workers" includes representatives of learned professions, farm owners, merchants, industrialists and independent craftsmen. One can assume that the situation within each of these artificially delimited comprehensive group is extremely differentiated, and the disparities occurring within the group are by no means smaller than those appearing between separate groups in the entire national community. Therefore, with theoretical and methodological needs of comparative pedagogy in mind, or, considering comparative studies in educational sociology and education, as well as taking into account practical needs for assumptions for the educational policy of the state and self-governmental bodies, supplied by science, I would suggest a full and essential abandoning of the existing, traditional classification of students, according to their formal affiliation with socio-professional groups (such as workers, intellectuals, white-collar workers, farmers). It would be advisable to elaborate an international classification, based on a multi-factor analysis of the material, economic, cultural and social situation, from the angle of analysing the variables which, in the light of investigations done worldwide, are clearly correlated with the chances for education and development of intellectual potential of people and, consequently, for their social promotion. Nowadays, in result of accomplished economic and social changes, the social, educational and economic differentiation is no longer in line with traditional socio-professional groups and, with the time, it will agree with them ever less. The least changes have taken place in our country among the farmers, of whom 49.5 p.c. have not completed the elementary school, 42.5 p.c. have completed full elementary school, 4.8 p.c. have incomplete secondary education, 2.8 p.c. have secondary and incomplete higher education, and 0.4 p.c. have higher education (all percentages refer to persons professionally active in agriculture). Therefore, among peasant children, the formal affiliation with the peasant stratum, as we see, agrees in 90 p.c. with affiliation with a group of unfavourable development conditions (low educational level of the parents, rural type of the environment, many children in the family, scantiness of cultural stimulants). On the other hand, in the workers' class the situation has changed radically. About 2 p.c. of physical workers in Poland are secondary school graduates, 20.4 p.c. of industrial workers have completed at least 11 years of school education (basic vocational school), and 49.1 p.c. have full elementary education. The younger the age-group the higher these per cents are. This category is also frequently privileged in comparison with the "white collars". Most of the workers (65 p.c.) who live and learn urban and big city centres, take advantage of many cultural possibilities, etc.

Social, cultural and also material discrimination in the cities is not quite in line with the class-stratum structure. The insufficient representation of workers' sons in higher educational institutions more often results of lack of aspirations to higher education (mainly because of low earning capacity of some diploma) or of the strive to become soon financially independent from the parents, than of essential barriers piling up on the road of a worker's child.

Should we wish to find the demarcation line, functioning now in our country, which divides society into the part of a difficult access to education and the part free from such drawbacks, we would see that it follows not so much the stratum-class divisions but the geographic-demographic line. This is a division into urban and rural regions, metropolitan and provincial centres, into town and country. Relatively speaking, the fact of residing in such an underprivileged region renders the professional start and promotion through education much more difficult than does formal affiliation with this or that socio-professional group.

Coming back to the division, adequate nowadays, in my opinion, into groups, the preference or discrimination of which should be assessed in international scale, I would suggest setting up a synthetic division into three groups, completely independent from traditional socio-professional classification. These synthetic groups should be based on a multi-factor analysis of the environmental, family, economic, cultural and social situation of the student. These groups could be named after the American model: higher, medium and lower group, or, to avoid the valuation contained in these terms, an overprivileged group, a privileged group and an underprivileged group, or, finally, taking into account accessibility to education only,

I – group of facilitated possibilities,
II – group of regular possibilities,
III – group of impeded possibilities.

Names of the groups are not essential though, naturally, they should be discussed. The necessary thing is a uniform system of factor analysis and the feature assessment system. Only then international comparisons could be carried out reasonably, and opinions could be formed as to in which countries the equalization of chances for the youth is more advanced and, as to who is to be granted assistance in the given country in the first place, what kind of assistance, so that, possibly, no one is underprivileged in his chances for full realization of his possibilities and life plans.

The author realizes that the subject of his paper is most controversial and may rise objections. However, the paper also contains a number of far-reaching implications of a theoretical and ideological nature. The author does not think it purposeful, however, to discuss at a Congress like this, generally known and acknowledged matters which would not prompt anyone to object.

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BARBARA TRYFAN

CHANGES IN THE SITUATION OF COUNTRY WOMEN IN POLAND

One of the essential achievements of People's Poland is a professional and educational advancement of women. It is particularly evident as regards the younger generation, which benefits from wide constitutional rights. The country woman benefits to a high degree from being given access to higher education, to posts and ranks, and being offered the opportunity to take advantage of cultural achievements as never before.

The evolution of the role of rural women is, on the one hand, integrally linked with the changes which have occurred in Polish agriculture during the last three decades but, on the other hand, is also a result of processes taking place in the material sphere and in the sphere of awareness of both Polish society and that of other countries of the world. Therefore, while trying to evaluate the position of contemporary women living in rural Polish district, their situation should be regarded in the broad context of phenomena, and the reference points should be sought no only in the urban community but also in historical conditions and in stereotypes of thinking which have accrued through the centuries and which are being overcome only by recent generations.

In People's Poland all citizans' political and social rights have become fully equalized. A part of our society believes that women have obtained not only full rights but even privileges. Meanwhile, as can be seen in everyday life, quite a few barriers have appeared in the way of implementation of the adopted principles. The difficulty is not only with external barriers but with barriers inherent in women themselves. In trying to combine their two essential roles, the family and the professional role, women each day face a choice: which role should be favoured and which one given up. This internal struggle is very often no easier than the external fight for political and economic rights.

There is at present a dispute in our society as to whether these two functions, that of mother and that of employee, can be combined at all without harm done to either of them. The crux of the dispute is, in a sense, which role is to be priority. When undertaking professional work a contemporary woman assumes new duties; if she does not want

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to give them up, she necessarily decreases the time she spends caring for her home and family. But does she neglect them? And what is of greater importance from the social point of view, the personal development and advancement of the woman, or the development of children, for the sake of whom the mother is to give up her career?

An ever-increasing number of women are completing higher education. It is clear that these women would rather not give up professional work. Consequently, a new question arises: shouldn't the access of women to higher education be limited since her studies may result in the loosening of family ties? It remains to be investigated whether her studies actually are the reason for this. According to various research works, the children of non-employed mothers much more frequently become law offenders than to those of working mothers. Undoubtedly, the essential fact is that non-employed mothers are not a proper model to emulate for the children of today, the family membres that tail to find a common language and are unable to share, as partners, all the issues brought by life.

The next problem, which is characteristic of contemporary relations concerns certain oversimplifications in reasoning, in which equality is considered to be identity, and the cumulation of a woman's dreams is seen as the performance of jobs typical for men such as masonry, mining and driving a tractor. After all, the aim should be not to statistically demonstrate this type of female advancement but to give to each member of society an equal chance for the development of his or her own aspirations and interests, and for the implementation of his or her own model of happiness. A fairly typical aspect of this problem is the feminization of some professions, particularly those which used to be traditionally considered as men's professions, for example medicine and law. A separate problem is teaching which is performed overwhelmingly by women. This does not seem to be socially desirable from the perspective of the school's educational role. A child brought up exclusivelly by women will not acquire certain features of personality which are needed for better coping with social reality.

A measurable index of women's improved status is not only their increased access to education but their share in post-elementary education at all levels. Proper evaluation of this fact is hampered by the appearance of some paradoxes. For example, girls greatly predominate in the general-education secondary schools, which provide a recruiting base for university students. Thus, we have to consider the fact that in the near future the difference in the formal educational level of men and women will show men at a disadvantage. It is noteworthy that in the age group of 18 to 24 the average man has attended school for 8.94 years while the average woman has attended school for 9.14 years. This fact will have a bearing on the course of professional careers.

At present, we increasingly find that women, having the same formal education and professional qualifications as men, are employed at lower posts and receive lower wages then man. In so feminized a profession as teaching, where women constitute 75 per cent of the staff, only 10 per cent of principals are women. As a rule women are promoted later and less frequently than men.

Summing up internal external barriers block the way to promotion and to taking full advantage of opportunities available. On one hand, women themselves are not willing to undertake the principal's role for fear of neglecting the proper performance of their role as mother and wife. In particular, gifted and ambitious women face this most difficult dilemma which expresses the internal perplexity between their two roles. On the other hand, women are not offered the post of principal and this is explained by the social interest, women's need to care for home and family. The complexity of the problem does not allow its treatment in general terms without considering many specific references.

The question arises: what does the woman's problem in the rural regions consist of? It seems that a proper evaluation must be made on four planes. Most frequently, the evaluation is carried out the plane discussed above, that is, by comparing the situations of women and men. This is, indeed, an important comparison, though no longer sufficient, as Poland has long since completed the struggle for women's constitutional rights.

Another plane for evaluation is provided by the comparison of women's former situation with the changes which have occurred in their lives in the last three decades. An attempt may also be made to compare the situation of Polish women with women's living conditions in other countries. The struggle for elementary principles of equal rights is not yet over in many regions of the world, but in some countries a great deal has been done for women, particularly in regard to helping them perform their family role.

Comparing the lives of women in urban and in rural districts is another plane of evaluation. Although country women have profited, to a large degree, from civilizational improvements, there remain in their environment many more problems to be solved. For country women the conflict between their family and professional roles and, primarily, the contradiction between the growth of aspiration and the chance for its implementation, is much more marked. While appreciating favourable changes we must recognize the lincs along which further action should go. The essence ot the solution is to replace anachronistic theses on the intellectual inferiority of women and emancipation slogans about their rights with the concept of equal value.

STAGE OF RESEARCH WORKS CONCERNING COUNTRY WOMEN

In the Polish sociological literature of the years 1945 – 1976 a disproportion can be noted in the number of studies evaluating the woman question in general and the country woman questionas well. Woman's problems had their place in the inter-war literature and even earlier. The leading idea of nearly all publications in the past was the *struggle for equal social* and political rights for women. In a sense, these emancipation aspirations constitute the main theme of contemporary writings too, though their contents and scope have changed. In the years 1945–1965 a leading problem addressed by researches was the professional promotion of women, that is woman's professional work with all its consequences for her personal development and for her family life. The researchers considered the different aspects of the professional preferences of women, their skills and lack of skills, their housing needs and organization of their household, the absorptiveness of the labour market, the family situation, the time budget and the problem of wages, as well as the attitudes of the women themselves and their spouses towards the undertaking of professional work by women. All of these studies concerned the problems of women employed in towns while the literature devoted to country women was very scarce.

In the past decade the sociological treatment of women's problems became enriched and enlarged, but problems of the rural environment were still discussed only minimally. The feminization of some professions such as pharmacy and scientific and educational work was noted. Employment was also linked with the material situation of the family, particularly with social security, including maternity and child-care leaves, workes' rights, and living standards. A new evaluation element was added, namely, promotion to a higher professional level, the filling of managerial posts and the performance of managerial functions.

During the preparations for the celebration of the thirtieth anniversary of People's Poland, a great number of historical publications appeared which dealt with the position of women since the beginning of Polish statehood, including a series of publications devoted to outstanding women from different walks of life. Problems of women's health, including alcoholism, problems of sex education, and sexual contacts were also discussed.

Within this abundant Polish literature the problems of the country woman are represented fairly modestly. Mrs. D. Wawrzykowska-Wierciochowa initiated an analysis of the lives of country women based on historical documents which was followed by studies on the participation of country women in liberation struggles. The first attempts to study the position of contemporary country women were done in the early Sixties, with special emphasis placed on three aspects of woman's problems in rural districts, namely work, changing social role, and woman position in the family and in the environment.

In recent the years some new publications have appeared though we are still far from a many-sided presentation of women's situation in agriculture against the background of rapid changes occurring in the rural community. Most of these publications are short essays and reports appearing in agricultural and rural periodicals. Only a few of them, which were printed mainly in the periodicals "Contemporary Village", "Rural Medicine" and "Family Problems", are of a research nature, albeit initial and fragmentary. Questions of health and recreation have been faremost. The outstanding work in this area is that by S. Sliwińska, based on the research in a selected village, as well as the works on procreation, and publications on health and sexual life.

The few publications dealing with woman's farm work are of a monographic character. There was one attempt to present the living conditions of a woman on a dual-occupation farm. Mention can also be made of publications on women's share in social life, on women's duties in the family, on women running farms independently, and on labour elements on a farm. These are rather journalistic materials. Some articles also appeared about activities of country women in socio-political organizations, and some references regarding the position of women in rural regions of other countries.

The most abundant data for the analysis of the changes which took place in country women's lives in the past three decades are contained in the 1200 diaries of country women which were submitted in 1970 for a competition proclaimed by the Institute of Rural and Agricultural Development of the Polish Academy of Sciences and by the editorial offices of some rural magazines. They were written by women living in every region of the country, of every age and of every profession present in rural districts. These diaries a basis for comparing present living conditions with those of the thirties, from three perspectives, woman's family, professional and citizen roles. A threevolume edition of selections from the diaries was prepared, together with introductory remarks on: I – Work, profession, culture; II – Marriage, maternity, family; III – Woman as a citizen.

Data for the analysis of changes in women's position are also provided by diaries of rural housewives in two regions of the country in which they describe the hour-by-hour and day-by-day work of each family member.

CHANGE DETERMINANTS OF COUNTRY-WOMEN'S ROLES

When discussing the changes, which have taken place in the life of country woman, it is necessary to emphasize a certain ambivalence occurring between her social position, on the one hand, and the functions performed by her on the other. According to the research works, in spite of the rising prestige of country women, the model of their daily existence still differs from the model postulated. Different economic and social conditions and different family models in villages and towns account for this phenomenon. Rural families are influenced by traditional models of living and working on a farm, a result of the traditional attitude to land as an autonomous value. At the same time these families are subjected to urban influences which revolutionize attitudes and views and change manners of their existence. In this clash of cultures and systems, a country woman each day must make the difficult choice between the good of the farm and her desire for free time.

In spite of great changes which will be discussed further on, the position of the contemporary country woman is still influenced by historical conditions. Before 1939 Poland was a country of the highest density of agricultural population in the world. As late as 1951, there were 75 persons per 100 ha of agriculturally productive land, with agriculture their only source of income, and there were as many as 105 persons per 100 ha of arable land. Rapid evolution, brought about by changes in social structure and in agricultural technique, also brought changes to the lives of country women. Change factors include the greater availability of education, the industrialization of agricultural regions, and the activities of social organizations.

Before World War II over one million children in Poland did not attend elementary school. Of those who started about 80 – 90 per cent rural children did not complete a seven-grade primary education. On the average there was only one seven-grade primary school for 17 communities. In the Thirties 23.1 per cent of the population was illiterate. If we compare this data with the number of rural youth today attending schools above the primary level, where girls comprise over one-half of the students, we have an obvious index of country women's promotion through education.

If we discuss the role of country women in agriculture, the issue of agricultural training acquires great significance. Let us study the figures of the school year 1973/74. At the elementary agricultural schools girls constituted one half of the students, at the primary environmental schools 69.3 per cent, at the primary agricultural schools with dormitories 63.8 per cent. There are also a great number of girls at the secondary agricultural schools, though it should be noted that they often choose a more difficult and longer way to learn their profession doubtless not of their own will but in consideration of the family situation which requires their daily help.

In 5-year agricultural technical colleges where enrollment follows completion of primary school, girls constitute 44.3 per cent of the student body. In 3-year agricultural technical college where enrollment follows completion of the primary agricultural school, and which is oriented to general agricultural and cattle-breeding skills, girls comprise as much as 72.7 per cent of the students body, and in the 3-year evening technical colleges the percentage rises to 79 per cent. Families delay the abandonment of the farm by enrolling their daughters in a primary school in the vicinity of their farm. These trends also appear at a later stage as girls take up study at the evening technical colleges which allows them to work during day on the family farm. Under these circumstances, a high proportion of girls who graduste from agricultural schools of all types and levels demonstrate a high sense of responsibility, a strong desire to study, and the persistence to acquire qualifications in spite of barriers imposed by family problems.

The past few years have seen the gradual introduction of primary agricultural schools for girls which prepare' them mainly for work in a farm household. Such schools came into being in the southern part of the country, where, because of considerable tourist traffic there were special needs connected with tourist services. The problems of furnishing the house for seasonal visitors, of preparing meals and serving them aesthetically, and of budgeting managing financial resources took high priority among the task of rural families. These needs brought about the organization of special schools, at first concerned with tourist traffic, and, later on, simply satisfying the growing requirements of contemporary families.

At these schools, as in others, girls learn to perform work connected with land cultivation and animal production. They also learn to organize family life, to prepare meals, observe hygiene and aesthetics, do the family and farm accounting, and use and maintain technical home and farm equipment.

As women nowadays perform a considerable role in agricultural production, their acquisition of proper qualifications becomes even important. The knowledge won from practical work on one's farm and conveyed to the new generation is no longer sufficient.

Another factor influencing the position of country women is industrialization which brings about a sizeable entry of women to areas of production which have been traditionally considered as tipically male. On private farms which predominate in Polish agriculture (about 84 per cent of the land belongs to the individual sector), there is a market trend to the socio-professional activation of women.

The phenomenon of feminization of manpower in individual farms is caused by the employment of some of the rural population outside agriculture. This is reflected in the form of permanent and shuttle migration. The process is most conspicuous in the rural environments of regions undergoing intensive industrialization. A newly constructed industrial-urban center in such a region provides, primarily, an absorptive male-manpower market.

As appears from the studies carried on by the Institute of Rural and Agricultural Development of the Polish Academy of Sciences, there were in the Sixties an average of 130 men for each 100 women permanently migrating from native villages to towns or worker settlements. A much higher proportion participated in shuttle migration. For each 100 women commuting to non-agricultural work in production plants there were at that time as many as 494 men. There is thus a firm basis for the statement that shuttle migration is a factor which greatly accelerates the feminization process of manpower on individual farms.

As a result of migration shifts of the population there were in the villages under study, only 65 men working on the farm for each 100 women. This ratio shows the great significance of women in the intensification of agricultural production in regions under industrialization. What is more, in such regions develops an absorptive market for agricultural products such as vegetables, fruits, cattle on the hoof, milk, eggs, etc., which requires increased expenditure of direct labour, primarily involving women.

A third factor effectively influencing the development of country women's roles is the activity of social mass organizations and, through them, the implementation of non-school education. There are three main socio-economic organizations operating in and for rural districts, namely, (a) cooperatives of supply and sale, (b) agricultural circles and their women's links, i.e. Circles of Rural Housewives, and (c) Union of Socialist Rural Youth.

As a result of cultural-educational and professional activation, the number of country women in local authorities and cooperative self-governmental bodies has grown. These socio-political organizations are very powerful and further influence the rate of change in the lives of rural women. On a practical level, these organizations facilitate the adjustment of country women to basic changes in the way of life brought about by industrialization and by the cultural revolution.

The improvement of the conditions of life of rural families through the introduction of the social security system to rural areas (child care, manternity benefits and health benefits) and improved rural income are other vital elements influencing women's positions.

THE POSITION OF COUNTRY WOMEN IN THE FAMILY AND IN THE ENVIRONMENT

When evaluating the importance of women in agriculture, we must see them in the full complexity of rural life, when they are performing their family, professional, and citizen roles.

The family role consists of two to some degree interfering though autonomous roles, that of marriage partner and that of parent. The first role includes the matrimonial match, the concept of partnership, the personality of the individual, while the second role includes family planning, the separation of sexual life from problems of procreation, the processes of socialization of children and problems of their care and upbringing. Of the total 7.5 million married couples in Poland, 47.5 per cent live in the country; over 2 million of these peasant-couples in which the woman's family role is evidently changing. The woman's position might be considered by the evaluation of the three basic roles performed by her. The rural woman must be seen not only as a person performing her family and citizen roles, but also as a producer contributing to the economy. Thus another evaluation principle was adopted, namely, a division into position and situation.

In general terms, it should be said that the social position of contemporary country women is high, while their situations remain difficult. On the one hand, there has been growth in their prestige and authority, while, on the other, working and living conditions on family farms continue to be difficult. Let us begin with the favourable elements, which, despite everything, predominate.

The new, favourable situation is evident at the moment of a marriage contract. In the traditional situation which once held away in rural regions this often was a humiliating and unfair transaction for the women. In previous generations peasant marriages were concluded, as a rule, after considering family, economic and environmental interests. They were often business transactions in which practical matters took high priority.

One result of economic changes has been a considerable degree of liberation of the marriage contract from the influence of property factors. The male's position is also different nowadays; he is no longer dependent on the mercy of his family, which, if disapproving of his marriage, once could disinherit him and thus deprive him of his only means of support. Since, at present, the man's situation is determined not only by the size of the farm he possesses, but also by the income he obtains in non-agricultural employment, a young man, wishing to contract a marriage, enjoys much more freedom than did men of his age in previous generations.

The social situation of country woman contracting marriage has also improved. Because of increasing non-agricultural employment she has become emancipated from the control of the individual farm and the dictates of relatives and neighbours. Spouses are no longer selected because of the size or location of their parent's farms. Even owning no land has ceased to be a criterion for unfavourable selection.

Family pressure in contracting a marriage has eased considerably. The reduction of the parents' power, which once consisted of their authoritative and indivisible control of the farm, is now shown in the lowered age of the newly-married, and also in the reduction of age differences between the spouses. The interference of the environment has declined even more considerably. An attempt to evaluate it through an analysis of territorial and religious selection indicates the rapid extinction of many forms of endogamy.

The age reduction of the newly-wed in rural districts demonstrates not only an improvement of their material situation, which allows the earlier establishment of a family, but indicates, primarily, the independence of the young, both in the economic and social sense, and their emancipation from the dictates of the family. In fact, it means the end of the hegemony of patriarchal tradition in favour of the individualization of all human beings. In Polish rural regions increasing numbers of men contract a marriage at the age of 21 – 25 years, instead of 26 – 30, while even more women marry at the age of 20, and not 21 – 25.

These trends can be noted even over a short period of time. As recently as 1965 only 90.1 per each 1000 women in the country contracted a marriage at the age of 19 – 24, while in 1970, 125.6 did. It is worth noting that the analogous figure in urban districts was 105.1 in 1970.

The marriage of a young couple no longer depends on the economic position of the couple's parents as once it did. In the past, marriages were very rarely contracted between a partner from a landless family and one owning a big farm. When such "misalliances" did occur they generally involved a wealthy man who married a penniless girl much younger than himself. The arrangement of property benefits was such that the boy received land from his family, while the girl received money as a dowry. Land was worth more than money. A young man who settled down on his wife's land would, in a way, lose his prestige as head of the family.

Essential changes have taken place in this respect. First of all, "misalliances" occur much more often, and the danger of dropping on the social scale is no longer of a great significance. The character of the family as a working team has been diminished, and the important role of ownership in forming a new cell has been reduced. The former property criterion, which was the basic determinant for contracting marriages, has been eliminated by the criterion of good wages in industry, the possession of professional skills, or prospects for settling down in town. A marriage for money has become, in fact, a rare event, and always meets with social disapproval. Therefore the typical patterns of "misalliances" are now reversed. It is no longer an elderly bachelor or widower who marries a poor, beautiful girl, who pays with her beauty for a better place in the social hierarchy, but, much more often, a rich, goodlooking girl (sometimes even one who has completed secondary education) who marries a landless man bringing as his dowry to her parents' farm his physical strength. Respect for the good of the farm, the traditional economic assumption for marital selection, is one causative force in such a situation.

Another element which once used to unfavourably effect the situation of a country woman was her procreation function. In past generations maternity was a tremendous burden on rural women. Giving birth to a great number of children (10 children or more per family was common) chained the woman to housework, did not allow of a development of her personality, and caused her premature aging. The present situation of young country women in this respect is closely connected with modern Poland's population policy.

As for the birth rate, in the first post-war decade Poland held a top place in Europe, and stood alongside Yugoslavia and the USSR as among the demographically youngest countries of our continent. This was connected with the need to reproduce the biological losses of the nation and was expressed by government policy giving preference to large families. In the late Fifties the birth rate declined and this decline has persisted to the present time. The decline can be noted in both town and country, but birth rate limitation came later to rural regions, and the rate of decline in towns has been more rapid.

This trend can be seen most clearly in projections. The projected differences between rural and urban districts have been increasing. From the viewpoint of the situation of the country women we are mainly interested in the decline of a birth rate in rural districts and in the reduction of the burdens connected with the procreation function. In 1950 there were 30.0 live births per 1000 town inhabitants and 31.2 live births per 1000 village inhabitants, while in 1972 the comparative figures were 15.6 and 19.5.

Table 1

Projection elements of birth rate per 1000 persons in urban and rural districts in the years 1950 – 1990

Year	Town	Village
1950	19.1	19.1
1960	12.9	16.9
1970	7.9	10.2
1980	4.9	9.4
1990	0.9	6.7

The decline of the number of children in peasant families does not proceed evenly in all environments. A great disproportion in the fertility of women from different environments is connected with the culture of sexual life, with different views on family functioning, with the level of medical care, and with the pressure of world outlook factors. Moreover, the age of women is a differentiating factor in family planning. The younger age groups have been involved to a higher degree in the birth control movement.

The third element of change is the growth of prestige of country women. The change in family structure and in role divisions was definitely influenced by two closely connected factors. The first resulted directly from industrialization processes. The constant migration to town which at first involved only surplus manpower but, later, also involved part of the manpower which was indispensable for farm work caused a diminution of the family working team. The location of industrial plants in agricultural regions intensified spatial mobility and favoured the establishment of a category of persons with a dual-occupation who combined employment in town with residence in a village and running a farm. Another determinant of change in women's situations was the change of the crop structure to vegetable growing. This shift is most evident in industrialized urban regions which are most absorptive of high-quality agricultural products.

The conspicuous growth of women's prestige within the family, did not result from suddenly viewing the wife as an equal partner, but arose rather from a concrete economic situation. When the farmer-husband undertook industrial employment a new economic necessity arose, and the woman took over the running of the farm. It the social position of a country woman is measured by her scale of prestige in the family and in the environment, it can be said that her prestige is favourably correlated with the employment in industry of the farmer.

The scope of competence and the scope of decisions made by women has changed. The measure of women's power is the fact that trade agreements are concluded by them, machines are hired from agricultural circles and loans are eased for investment projects, breeding or the outfitting of modern apartments. Women go beyond the family group. Once subordinated to the authority of father or husband and deprived of the right of self-determination, they now not only make decisions on internal family matters on an equal footing with their husbands but take part in talks with authorities, and appear outside the farmas representatives of the husband and of the whole family.

The differences in the position of the wives of farmers and part-time workers are evident proof of the changes brought about by the transformation of the social and professional structure of rural families. Two additional elements seem essential for evaluation of this phenomenon: the age of the husband who is employed outside agriculture and his place of work. Our observations allow the formulation of two conclusions. First woman's role in the family has changed more quickly in these cases where the commuting husband belongs to a younger age group. Members of the younger generation are characterized by greater elasticity of views and attitudes; they absorb changes better and bring to their villages not only their earnings but also new urban models regarding interpersonal relations. Second, changes in family roles are more marked in those marriages in which the husbands commute to more distant working places. Both the commuting time and the contacts with the new environment which cause the loosening of the man's ties with their farms are of significance. Consequently, the women become the actual farm managers which changes their status in the family and makes them equal partners.

The financial functioning of rural families is also undergoing change. When agriculture provides the only source of income, the cash-box is in most cases, used in common whereas if other, or only other, sources of income are available, the cash is usually under the wife's control. This also demonstrates that women's competences are widening.

A fourth sign of change in the living conditions of country women is the division of work on the farm which is different from what it once was. In the past the division of work was based on a lower appreciation of work performed by women. Gradually the strict barriers between the duties of the husband and of the wife have been eliminated and the division of duties has become adapted to the actual needs and situation of the family. A typical feature of the new arrangement is that women presently often perform work, which used to be considered as men's jobs, for example harvesting. At the same time men have become involved in work which was traditionally considered as women's occupations. As one example, milking cows, once considered to be women's work is now very often done by men. The same is true of cattle feeding. Thus, we may say that for women a novelty to perform work outside the family, while for men it is a novelty to perform operations within the family.

The systematically advancing mechanization of agriculture aids women in carrying out field work by reducing the need for muscle-power. In this respect a great role is played by agricultural circles with their complete sets of agricultural machinery available for use.

The fifth factor determining favourable changes in the life of country women is the current tendency to limit the selfsufficiency of the rural family. The household has become, to a considerable extent, emancipated from the agricultural workshop. The family, a group of life solidarity, was especially in a rural environment, also an economic community. The woman's part in this community was not limited to the traditionally allocated share of vegetable and animal production. During the pre-industrial period women were handling a wide assortment of non-agricultural production as well. The folk saying that "man holds but one corner of the house, while woman holds the other three" illustrates the significance of women's work in the traditional peasant family.

The development of industry has taken over part of traditional family production and, by making better and cheaper clothing, bed linen and food items, in a sense replaced the woman. A typical feature of industrialized societies is the manufacture of articles for everyday use on the basis of specialized work division separated from the family. This is also true of many services connected with running a household.

In the early post-war years some women run farms single-handedly primarily in the Western territories. In 1947, 15 per cent of the heads of families in central and south-eastern Poland were women. In the voivodship of Opole this figure was approximately 40 per cent. Ten years later, the proportion of households in which a woman was the head of the family had declined. One might have thought that time this proportion would keep decreasing, but this did not prove true. A completely new social situation arose and we note an ever-growing number of women who run their farms unaided. These are, of course, primarily unmarried and widowed women. In the traditional community, however, unmarried women used to remain with their families and did not enjoy prestige in local opinion. Widowhood also rarely led to independence as far as farm management was concerned. After a father's death the duties and privilleges of management usually went to the sons even if they were not yet age. Generally, rural opinion favoured the remarriage of the widow as the most proper solution. This was because she had social prestige only as a man's partner, regardless of her personal values. In this respect much has changed in the opinions of country people, and in their social reality. Not only do single women now perform managerial functions in production, the wives of peasant-workers who are employed outside agriculture do so also.

In spite of the basic changes which have taken place in the situation of country women, their living and working conditions are still difficult, for many reasons. Sometimes, parallel to a rise in social status there is an increased burden.

The first reason for this is that women play a major role in plant and animal production. As early as the years 1930–1939, research was initiated in Poland to determine the working hours of women on the basis of their operation diaries. Similar studies have been carried out in many research centers during the past three decades. This allows us to make some comparisons.

It appears that in spite of advancements in mechanization and the provision of many services, the average work-day of country women has not shortened in the past 40 years; in fact there has even been upward trend. Whereas in the Thirties working time was estimated at 13 hours and 20 minutes per day, in the Sixties the estimation was 13 hours nad 49 minutes, and in the Seventies it was 15 to 18 hours per day, depending on farm size and type, and on the number of persons in the household. The greatest amount of time, 5 hours daily, is required by plant production, while animal production requires 3 hours. The highest expenditure of women's labour is noted in small holdings of up to 2 ha, which are connected with mechanization shortage and extra agricultural employment of men.

In summertime, across all types of farms, the average daily working time of women is 16 hours and 5 minutes, and the time for sleep is only 5 hours 25 minutes. If one analyzes the proportion of time spent on fieldwork, labour on the farmstead, and in the household, it would appear that 42 per cent of the total time budget goes to fieldwork, 25 per cent to household and farmstead work, business operations and contacts with institutions consume a considerable amount of time, and only 7 per cent of time remains, which the housewife has available all to herself.

In general terms, the over burdening of contemporary country women is a result of women's new role in agricultural production, the undertaking of outside employment by men, and growing family requirements and changed attitudes to children. Women, wives of peasant-workers, are in charge of farm services, the selling of agricultural products, daily chores and child care. In fact, the woman has stopped being a helping family member and has become the head of the family and the production manager; to a greater degree than ever before, she is a full-time worker with various duties. The separation in time and space of household work from professional work which is characteristic of urban women's lives did not take place in the village.

When the rural family begins to base its existence on two equal sources of income (an ever intensifying process), the term "professionally active" does not correctly identify the woman's actual status. The dual-occupation category into which the rural husband fits is not appriopriate to describe the work of his wife. A comparison of the scope of her job to that of a multiworkshop woman-worker would be more adequate, with the distinction that an 8-hour working day is not observed by the rural wife.

Non-agricultural employment plays a decisive role in the volume of women's work. When the husband is employed outside agriculture, the amount of work performed by the woman on a farm exceeds the amount of work done by each family member.

Even the abolition of the traditional division of work and its adaptation to the actual needs and conditions of a modern farm does not indicate a reduction in the scope of women's duties. Indeed women frequently alternate with their husbands in performing work, but they carry out no lesser jobs than they did under traditional arrangements.

Women perform not only strictly household work but also share in production work carried out within the household and the farmstead. In general, men's work on the farmstead consists of caring for horses, making necessary repairs, and doing the threshing. Women, on the other hand, are responsible for the care of cattle, hogs and poultry, including feeding and milking; work in the vegetable garden, collect fruit, and do work in the cellar such as sorting out potatoes and storing supplies. Animal production and vegetable cultivation have always been considered women's work. At present these production lines have increased considerably, thus adding to women's burdens.

Despite a decline in natural consumption which has eliminated some traditional works from the housewife's time budget the amount of work done by women in the households of modern agricultural families has been increasing. This is connected with the changing relationship between the farm and the household, as the importance of the latter increases. There are several categories of increasing demands. The greater time devoted to household chores by the rural housewife demonstrates, on one hand, advance and modernity, while, on the other hand it additionally burdens the woman.

There is an evidence of aspiration to schieve a family model based not on common production work but on common satisfaction of consumption and emotional needs. With the development of this new life model, under the influence of processes of urbanization, new family needs arise. The traditional scheme of ambitions is no longer sufficient; the scope of aspirations is growing and their nature is changing. This has become evident in the household by, among other things, greater time spent in the preparation of meals. Even during the month of July, filled with the most intensive harvesting chores, women devote a great deal of time to preparing meals.

Empirical studies have demonstrated that an average of 3 hours daily is spent on family feeding activities. This figure will be still more meaningful if we compare it with such essential rural labour as harvesting, which, in the monthly balance, is shown to take up a similar amount of time. Another amazing fact is that even when field work demands much of their time, rural housewives devote many hours to laundry, ironing, wall painting, and washing of children. This demonstrates the increasing family demand for hygiene.

In view of the growing requirements of the contemporary rural family, a higher standard of household appliances does not reduce the working hours of the housewife, but only relieves her of some hard, physical effort.

All these additional burdens are termed as "the price of modernity". This price does not seem to be paid by all family members in proportion to their strength and time. The country woman clearly pays the highest price for her family's increased modernity as housework continues to be divided in a more traditional manner than is farmwork.

If we divide the time budget of a country woman into six parts, namely, fieldwork, farmstead work, household work, business contacts, contacts with institutions and leisure time occupations, it appears that the major item is work performed for the home and family, that is to say, household work. A country woman who is in charge of professional work in agriculture, which occupies the time of the entire family during harvesting, sowing or potato lifting, still in the course of the year devotes most of her time to household work. This confirms the ranking of housework and approaches the family model to many West-European countries, where the proportion of work expenditure for the home is increasing in women's overall time budgets, and apparently contradicts what has been said earlier regarding the elimination from women's time budgete of some jobs linked with food processing and the self-sufficient household. Despite the disappearance of the self-sufficient household, the scope of household duties does not seem to have dwindled.

The scope of women's work in the household and on the farmstead is also influenced by the development of a new attitude to the child in a rural family. This attitude is connected with a new concept, "social maternity". Country women, indeed, give birth to fewer children than they used to, but the care given each child is much greater.

The changing situation of the rural child is a consequence of many new elements which have appeared in the life and attitudes of the rural population. We note a new attitude to study and to the choice of a profession. Contact with urban centers and to the choice of a profession. Contact with urban centers has helped to abolish social barriers and has influenced the development of the aspirations and desires of youngsters and their parents. In the value hierarchy of today's parents, professional qualifications and expert skill rank high, and study is viewed as necessary to achieve personal success.

A typical feature of present-day societies undergoing industrialization is the unification of the customs and culture of urban and rural environments. The desire to take part in a uniform mass culture brings about changes in the system of rural values and attitudes, life aspirations, and action standards. The acceptance of a new life-style results in the separation of work from leisure. As soon as the phenomenon of leisure time appeared, the efforts of rural families focused not only on achieving better production results but also on a maximum shortening of production processes through better work organization with the aim of increasing leisure time. This new attitude to life and to one's own farm is bound to have an influence on children. The children, to a greater extent than other family members have profited from the rights and benefits which have resulted from the new scale of values; that is, the children have had more leisure time while their mother has had less of it.

One further change in the child's position is that in the traditional family model the child provided the cheapest manpower. The child was thus an indispensable production element, and his value was measured by his production usefulness. The greatest evolution has taken place in this area. In individual farming, which is subordinated to the iron laws of economy, it is still common to use children's work. However the children's share in the production process stopped being the prior and only aim, and the scope and amount of work performed by children does not determine their place in the family working group.

The new attitude to children in the rural family, shown by a greater care for their mental and physical development, and consequently, for reducing their duties to the farm, brings additional burdens to women. It is woman who undertakes the work traditionally performed by children, so as to ensure to the latter, better conditions for study and, to as great an extent as possible, a chance equal to that of urban children for higher study.

Although economic conditions have facilitated the promotion of women and ensured them a partner's position in decision-making, they still perform the hardest jobs in the hierarchy of professions, and the promotion and personal development of other family members is accomplished, to a large extent, at their expence. Changing socio-economic conditions have triggered emancipation processes. Consequently, country women have gotten out of the narrow circle of home-production interests. Their political awareness has been awakened; this is manifested, among other things, by their share in political life. However, since country women are now responsible for more farm and household duties, taken over from their husbands and children, and since family needs have increased under the impact of urbanization, they are still unable to fully develop their personalities or profit from cultural achievements in spite of having more opportunities than ever before.

In view of the specific character of rural family life, social policies, especially social and legal protective measures for mothers and families, have become tremendously important. Besides the promotion of small mechanization, vocational training, consultation on work organization, and promotion of vital services, the provision of assistance to families would be a major element for improving the existence of women living in rural districts.

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Selected Works in Chronological Order
(1957 – 1975)

1957

Nowakowski Stefan: **Adaptacja ludności na Śląsku Opolskim (Adaptation of the Silesian Opole Population).** Poznań 1957, pp. 166. The book grew out of field studies conducted in 1949–1951. It discusses the process of the emergence of a uniform local community in Silesian Opole out of the varied groups who settled there after the war. Its main subjects are: the clash of varied everyday life cultures, the integration process, the factors of adaptation and stabilization.

Społeczno-ekonomiczna struktura wsi w Polsce Ludowej. Wyniki badań ankietowych gospodarstw indywidualnych (Socio-Economic Structure of the Rural Areas in People's Poland. Findings of a Poll of Individual Farms). Collective work, ed. Jerzy Tepicht. Warszawa 1957, pp. XLV, 212. A summary of a poll of 80 villages throughout conducted in 1952 by the Institute of Agricultural Economy. Besides maps and tables for individual regions and questionnaire models, the book contains 7 articles: Tepicht – a synthesis of the studies on the socio-economic structure of the rural areas in People's Poland, K. Bentlewski – preliminary remarks on the representativeness of the materials, Gałęski – notes on the subject-matter of research on rural social structure. The work is a continuation of the 1947 research.

1958

Zawistowicz-Adamska Kazimiera: **Społeczność wiejska. Wspomnienia i materiały z badań terenowych. Zaborów 1937 – 1938 (The Rural Community. Reminiscences and Findings of a Field Study in Zaborów Village, 1937 – 1938).** Revised and supplemented publication. Warszawa 1958, pp. 324, 32 tables, 1 map. A view of the daily life of Cracow province villages in 1937 – 1938. The book resulted from social research conducted in Zaborów. Its central problems is emigration and its influence on changes in the traditional rural culture. The authoress then describes the daily life, holiday festivities, weddings, as well as the labour of the peasants on and off their farms. Contains a research questionnaire.

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1960

Nowakowski Stefan: **Przeobrażenia społeczne wsi opolskiej (Social Changes in Opole Villages):** Poznań 1960, pp. 256. The author deals with the specific problems of Opole. His main interest is the adaptation to the Polish People's Republic of the native Polish population. He examines the problem on the example of one village, analizing its development and socio-economic class differentiation and the role of rural institutions. He treats in this broad background the Polishness of the inhabitants. An appendix contains parts of the author's interviews with respondent inhabitants.

1961

Ciupak Edward: **Parafianie? (Wiejska parafia katolicka) (Parishioners? The Catolic Rural Parish).** Warszawa 1961, pp. 170. An analysis of two parishes, considerations in the sphere of the sociology of religious practice and the social structure of the practitioners, and problems of further research. The successive chapters deal with: "Local Catholicism", "The Parish in the Local Community", "The Rural Parson and the Group of Parishioners", "The Religious Life of the Rural Family", "Lay Aspects in Religious Practice", "Processes of Disintegration of the Rural Parish", "Parishioners".

Gałaj Dyzma: **Aktywność społeczno-gospodarcza chłopów. Studium szczegółowe na przykładzie wsi Bocheń (Peasant's Social and Economic Activity. A Case Study of Bocheń Village).** Warszawa 1961, pp. 248. Definition of the problem and the research methods. Description of the village's natural and economic conditions and its history. Analysis of the dynamics of vegetable production and of the leading farms, the authority of leading farmers and perspectives of development of the farms. The work is based on the findings of the author's own research conducted in 1960.

Społeczno-ekonomiczna struktura wsi w Polsce Ludowej. Wyniki badań ankietowych (The Socio-Economic Structure of the Rural Areas in People's Poland. Findings of a Poll). A collective work under the direction of Bogusław Gałęski, Warszawa 1961, pp. 245. A summary of the 1957 Institute of Agricultural Economy poll, continuation of 1952 and 1947 research. Similar polls were conducted before the war by the Institute of Social Economy. The book mainly consists of tables of figures presenting the incomplete findings of the research, a general theoretical and materials analyses.

Turski Ryszard: **Dynamika przemian społecznych w Polsce (The Dynamic of Social Change in Poland).** Warszawa 1961, pp. 192. An analysis of what the author considers the most important changes in the social structure in people's attitudes. The main problems dealt with are: migrations, their causes and effects, societies in Poland's Western Territories, occupational changes. The book is based on G.U.S. (Central Statistical Office) materials and the more broadly conceived literature on the subject.

1962

Gałęski Bogusław: **Społeczna struktura wsi. Problematyka i metody badań (The Social Structure of the Rural Communities. Subiect-matter and Research Methods).** Warszawa 1962, pp. 154. The place of research on social structure in sociology, rural sociology in Poland its links with practice. Information on the research activity of the Institute of Socialized

Economy and the Institute of Rural Economy: research objectives, selection of villages, questionnaire polls, methods, Research findings; social classes, types of rural social structure, changes in the social structure of the village. Socio-economic regions.

1963

Gałęski Bogusław: **Chłopi i zawód rolnika. Studia z socjologii wsi (Peasants and the Farmer's Occupation. Studies in Rural Sociology).** Warszawa 1963, pp. 162. On the basis of research on the socio-economic structure of the rural population and on the declared views of farmers on their occupational interests and aspirations, the author undertakes to define the laws of social change in the countryside. He then discuses the system of social forces in Poland's rural areas and the process of professionalization of farmer's labour, the farmer's economic activity and their opinions on the perspective of social changes. He finally deals with the general subject of the sociology of the contemporary Polish village.

Pohoski Michał: **Migracje ze wsi do miast. Studium wychodźstwa w latach 1945–1957, oparte na wynikach ankiety Instytutu Ekonomiki Rolnej (Migrations from Rural to Urban Areas. A Study of Migrations during 1945–1957, based on the Survey Findings of the Institute of Agricultural Economy).** Warszawa 1963, pp. 245. The author establishes some tendencies and relationships expressed by the migration process from the village to the city as well as of the process of social mobility of the peasant youth in the post-war period. The book is on the borderline between demography, statistics and sociology.

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1964

Burszta Józef, (ed.): **Stare i nowe w kulturze wsi koszalińskiej (The Old and the New in the Culture of Koszalin Villages).** Collective work under the direction of J. Burszta. Poznań 1964, pp. 273. Considers findings of research in 6 villages (conducted 1960–1963).

The work is composed of 8 chapters devoted to varied problems and written by different authors. The introduction entitled "Research on Cultural Changes in Western Territory Villages" is written by Burszta, who also authored the chapter "Tradition and Progress in Agrarian Culture". The following chapters are: "Mutual Aid and Some Other Forms of Cooperations" (Z. Jasiewicz); "Two Communities – the Village and the State Farm" (H. Ostrowska); "The Old and the New in the Homestead for the Woman" (M. Burszta, E. Stachowiak); "Rural Youth and Their Environmental Culture" (W. Sobisiak); "Family Rituals" (A. Wojciechowska); "The Ritual Year, Yesterday and Today" (J. Dydowiczowa); "Local Culture in the New Community" (B. Linette).

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Markowska Danuta: **Rodzina w środowisku wiejskim. Studium wsi podkrakowskiej (The Family in a Rural Environment. Study of a Village Near Cracow).** Wrocław 1964, pp. 325. Historical area study embracing the process of change of the rural family between 1880–1963 in three historical periods: 1880–1919, 1919–1945 and the contemporary epoch, i.e. 1945–1963. The rural family is described in each period according to the following scheme: 1) the family's position in the rural community and its structure, 2) family typology, 3) its procreative and economic functions, the family and the home, the family as a system of mutual protection, the family's educational upbringing function, 4) principal differences and similarities in family types. The concluding remarks contain an analysis of the village which has been transformed from a purely agricultural into a multi-strata worker-peasant entity as well as an analysis of the change in family life caused by this transformation.

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1966

Gałęski Bogusław: **Socjologia wsi. Pojęcia podstawowe (Rural Sociology. Basic Concepts).** Warszawa 1966, pp. 119. The author undertakes for the first time in Polish scientific literature to explain and systematize the basic concepts of rural sociology. The four chapters are devoted to: 1) the sociology of the peasant farm, 2) the sociology of the farmer's occupation indicating the process of professionalization of farm labour, 3) the sociology of the peasant family, 4) the sociology of the village community.

Szemberg Anna: **Przemiany w strukturze agrarnej gospodarstw chłopskich (Changes in the Agrarian Structure of Peasant Farms).** Warszawa 1966, pp. 243. The author discusses the changes in the agrarian structure over a ten period (1952–1962), pertaining to the changes in the farms economy and in the families operating them. She touches on the questions of tenancy, mortgage installment payments of families, the farms general productivity as well as the changes in farm structure according to the source of peasant family income. The research is based on general census data and on materials of the Institute of Agricultural Economy.

1967

Adamski Władysław: **Grupy interesów w społeczności wiejskiej (Interest Groups in the Rural Community).** Warszawa 1967, pp. 204. The author distinguishes three interest groups. The structural principle linking them is the common partial interests of families with a higher degree rationalism in their attitudes expressed in their public role and in the exchange of material and other services. The book is based on the findings of research conducted by the author in selected villages of Bydgoszcz province embracing 138 families.

"Etudes Rurales". Rivue trimestrielle publiée par l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes – Sorbonne. Sixième Section: Sciences économiques et sociales avec le concours du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. Paris 1967, No. 25/26, pp. 246. This is an all Polish issue. It includes ten articles written by Polish authors on Polish villages, their agrarian, economic, sociological and partly historical problems. The whole of the issue provides a foreign rural sociologist and economist with information on the agrarian, socio-economic and demographical structure of the Polish village as well as with knowledge of the changes which occurred in the Polish village in the years 1945–1965. Sociological problems are dealt with by the articles of: B. Gałęski, D. Markowska, A. Sianko, W. Makarczyk, F. Mleczko and M. Pohoski. The issue is completed with wide information on centres, employes, publications and scientific research regarding rural and agricultural economics, etnography and rural and agricultural sociology in Poland in the years 1965 and 1966.

Szwengrub Lili Maria: **Bibliografia wsi polskiej 1918–1965 (Rural Bibliography in Poland 1918–1965).** Warszawa 1967, pp. 196. The bibliography comprises publications pertaining to Polish rural sociology and Polish rural centers abroad. It lists compact publications, specialized periodical literature as well as articles and communications pertaining to rural sociology appearing in scientific journals or dealing with questions connected with rural themes. The bibliography is the first systematic, detailed classification of its kind. The point of departure of is the conception of rural sociology as a totality. It is provided with an appendix for 1965–1966. The bibliography comprises 712 titles each of which is given in Polish and English. Brief notes of each title are given in Polish only.

1968

Dobrowolska Danuta: **Przeobrażenia społeczne wsi podmiejskiej. Podkrakowska osada Chełm w latach 1900–1967 (Social Transformations of a Suburban Village. Chełm Village near Cracow in the years 1900–1967).** Wrocław 1968, pp. 275. The subject of the study is a problem of transformations of a small local community situated the suburbs of a big town. In her monograph of Chełm village, the author discusses the social structure, links, uniting the village, the evidences of this unity and, finally, the links of local community with the society in a wider sense of a word. The main purpose of the monograph was to present the social transformations in a small local community which forms, in a sense, a closed system. Special attention has been drawn to the transformation of the value systems, which are influenced by the existing socio-economic process of transformation itself, the author has been also interested in the factors which have created it.

"Roczniki Socjologii Wsi" ("The Annals of Rural Sociology". Special Issue), edited by the Rural Sociology Department of the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology at the Polish Academy of Sciences and the Department for the Socio-Economic Structure of the Rural Areas at the Institute of Agricultural Economy, directed by Bogusław Gałęski. Editorial Board Secretary Lili Maria Szwengrub. Special Issue, Warszawa 1968, pp. 211. This is a special issue, prepared specially for the II World Congress of Rural Sociology with the idea of presenting the achievements of investigations conducted within the last few years by the scientist members of the editorial board of the publication in the years 1963–1968. The Volume includes short information on the traditions or rural and agricultural sociology in Poland and 15 articles reprinted from the first seven volumes of "The Annals of Rural Sociology", information concerning members of the editorial board – their permanent employment, research conducted by them at present, subject-matter of their works, a list of more important titles published by members of the editorial board and the table of contents of the seven volumes of "The Annals of Rural Sociology". The articles have been selected in such a way that at the same time they create a review of research works of the Rural Sociology Department of the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology at the Polish Academy of Sciences.

Sociologičeskaja mysl w Polskoj Narodnoj Republike (Sociological Thought in People's Poland). Moscow 1968, pp. 316, Progress. The book comprises ten articles (reprints) written by Polish sociologists, including four concerning rural sociology. Selection of articles and the annex by H. W. Osipowa, translation of articles – A. N. Aniščenko.

Gałęski Bogusław (ed.): **Upowszechnienie nowości produkcyjnych wśród rolników (Diffusion of Production Innovations among Farmers).** Warszawa 1969, pp. 161; "Seria Rynku Wiejskiego". The work includes four reports on the research conducted in Poland within the framework of international research sponsored by the Vienna Centre. The articles have been written by: Bogusław Gałęski, Wacław Makarczyk, Lili Maria Szwengrub and Maria Konieczna-Michalska. The study was edited within the program of popularization of the results of scientific research among activists and practicians.

Jagiełło-Łysiowa Eugenia: **Zawód rolnika w świadomości społecznej dwóch pokoleń wsi (The Farmer's Occupation in the Social Consciousness ot Two Rural Generations).** Warszawa 1969, pp. 315. The author discusses somme elements of self-evaluation of the occupation agriculture against the background of changes in the value system in the village. The authors reflexions and hypothesis are based on the analysis of her own research and on diaries. The book comprises three chapters: I – "A land, a farm and an occupation outside agriculture"; II – "Self-evaluation of the occupation agriculture"; III – "Leisure and a farm". The book ends with a short chapter including the conclusion and the bibliography of the most important questions.

Olszewska-Krukowa Anna: **Wieś uprzemysłowiona. Studium społeczności lokalnej w powiecie opolskim (An Industrialized Village. A Study of the Local Community in the Opole District).** Wrocław 1969, pp. 167. This book, based on the field research conducted in the years 1957–1963, is a sociological monograph of the processes of migration, industrialization, spreading of mass culture and changes of value systems in one of the villages. By means of the analysis of these processes, the author tries to answer the question concerning the way in which new structures function in the local communities of industrialized villages. The research, conducted under the scientific supervision of Józef Chałasiński, was the subject of the author's Ph. D. paper. The book is a completed inversion of this paper.

Pietraszek Edward: **Wieś robotnicza. Zarys problematyki socjologicznej (Peasant-Worker Villages. A Sociological Study).** Kraków 1969, pp. 189. This work, being the first attempt to elaborate the problems of peasant-worker villages in Polish territory, aims mainly at considering the very question of the peasant-worker village as a defined territorial community and those basic aspects of its existence and functioning which can be established on the basis of the present state of research respective publications. The author's own field research, as well as the results of research referring directly or indirectly to the peasant-worker village published in Poland, were the basic source of this publication.

1970

Bertrand Alvin L., Wierzbicki Zbigniew T., **Socjologia wsi w Stanach Zjednoczonych. Stan i tendencje rozwojowe (Rural Sociology in The United States),** Warszawa 1970, pp. 464. The content of the book is divided into 5 parts: Part I – "Conceptual Frameworks, Problems and Solutions"; Part II – "Community Studies"; Part III – "Agriculture, Regions, Population Characteristics and Rural Institutions"; Part IV – "Applied Rural Sociology"; Part V – "Information on Research and Teaching of Rural Sociology in the USA".

Les transformations de la campagne polonaise, sous la rédaction de Ryszard Turski. Wrocław 1970, pp. 578. The contents of this book are the following: "Introduction" (J. Szczepański). **Chapitre I. "La structure sociale".** "La structure social de la population rurale" (J. Szczepański); "Les tendences des transformations dans la structure de la société rurale" (B. Gałęski); "Deux modèles de structure et de rapports sociaux à la campagne" (W. Adamski); "Les agriculteurs – members des coopératives agricoles productives et les ouvriers agricoles" (L. Szwengrub). **Chapitre II. "La mobilité sociale":** "Les perspectives des transformations de la campagne polonaise dans les annés 1966 – 1985" (D. Gałaj); "La mobilité socio-professionnelle des fils de paysans" (M. Pohoski); "La stabilité et la mobilité professionnelles des agriculteurs" (W. Makarczyk), "Les processus d'adaptation et d'intégration dans le milieu rural des Territoires Occidentaux de la Pologne" (S. Nowakowski); "Deux modèles de mobilité sociale" (R. Turski). **Chapitre III. "Les transformations du métier d'agriculteur":** "Les problèmes sociologiques de l'exploitation agricole (B. Gałęski); "La terre et la profession" (E. Jagiełło-Łysiowa); "Les facteurs de la modernisation de la campagne et de l'agriculture" (J. Turowski); "Les paysans et les cercles agricoles" (D. Gałaj, T. Hunek); "La diffusion des innovations agricoles" (W. Makarczyk); "Les modèles des leaders professionnels" (J. Marek). **Chapitre IV. "La famille paysanne";** "La famille paysanne dans le processus de transformation" (J. Turowski); "La famille paysanne dans le milieu industrialisé" (D. Markowska); "Les fonctions de la famille paysanne" (F. Jakubczak). **Chapitre V. "Les communautés rurales":** "Le village de Żmiąca, un demi-siècle plus tard" (Z. Wierzbicki); "La structure sociale et les lieus locaux" (D. Markowska): "Anciennes et nouvelles structures de la campagne urbanisée" (A. Olszewska). **Chapitre VI. "La culture":** "La culture paysanne traditionnelle" (K. Dobrowolski); "Les aspirations socio-culturelles de la jeunesse rurale" (B. Gołębiowski); "Le travail en tant que valeur sociale" (Z. Sufin); "Les motivations et les fonctions de la lecture de la presse à la campagne" (M. Trawińska).

1971

Gałęski Bogusław: **Innowacje a społeczność wiejska (Innovations and the Rural Community).** Warszawa 1971, pp. 3. The book is devoted to the social conditioning of the process of diffusion of technical innovations to rural communities. Based on the research conducted under his own supervision (particularly the research conducted by the Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences, which was part of the comparative study directed by the author on behalf of the Vienna Centre) the author formulates some hypotheses on the social conditioning of the diffusion of agricultural innovations in rural communities. Completing this part of the book, the author formulates a number of conclusions aimed ad improving the notion apparatus and methodology of research. Another part of the book is devoted to sociological problems of social changes (particulary to social changes in the village and agriculture). At the same time it aims at indicating the position of the theory of innovation diffusion in formulating and determining the hypothesis with a wider range of generality. The book includes an index of quoted investigators and authors of works on the diffusion of innovation as well as a table of contents in Russian and English. Apart from theoretical and generalizing character of the book, about 200 foot-notes determine its value as a guidebook of present achievements in sociological investigations on the diffusion of agricultural innovations.

Makarczyk Wacław: **Przyswajanie innowacji (Adaption of Innovations).** Warszawa 1971, pp. 232. For the last few decades a rapid development has been noted in the studies on adaption and diffusion in various fields of social life. The aim of this book is to present an outline of the sociological knowledge of the processes and the research done on them. The book deals with the following points: – a review of problems formulated and concepts applied by various authors in the field of adoption and difusion of innovations; – methods and techniques used in solving these problems; – examples of findings in the course of research; – examples of uses of the accumulated knowlege; and finally, – an attempt at evaluating the efforts to develop a theory a of adoption and diffusion of innovations.

Wincławski Włodzimierz: **Przemiany środowiska wychowawczego wsi peryferyjnej (Changes in the Educational Environment of a Peripheral Village).** Wrocław 1971, pp. 293. The study is a problem monograph on the borderlines of several disciplines, first of all social pedagogics, educational sociology and rural sociology. Its first part contains characterictics of the village and its development. Three following parts concern conditions and results of home education, local community and contemporaries as an educational environment and the introducing of superlocal institutions to the village. The book includes six indexes: three of them are prepared by a historian, educationalist and linguist. The remaining three are quotations from letters and diaries of emigrants to America and a sociogram of a part of Ciche village. The author has been collecting material for his study for four years, while working as a school master in the primary school of the investigated village.

1972

Gałęski Bogusław: **Basic Concepts of Rural Sociology.** Translated by H. C. Stevens, Manchester University Press, 1972, pp. 209. Table of Contents: "Peasant Farming".

"Farming as an Occupation". "The Peasant Family". "The Village Community". "The Social Structure". "From Peasant Class to Stratum of Farmers". "Determinants of Rural Social Change". "Sociological Problems of the Contemporary Polish Village". "Perequisites for the Transformation of the Peasant Farm". "Index".

1973

Gałęski Bogusław: **Studia nad społeczną strukturą wsi (Studies on Rural Social Structure).** Warszawa 1973, pp. 282. This book containes articles about changes in rural social structure in Poland. The author collected them in three parts: "Theory and Change of Rural Social Structure": "Examples of Detailed Analysis": "Social Forces and Prospects of Rural Social Change". Titles of some articles: "Studies on Rural Social Structure"; "Class Groups and Types of Rural Social Structure": "Indices of Social Stratification of Peasant Class": "From Peasant to Farmers": "Institutions in the Process of Activization of Rural Local Communities": "Types of Village According to Social Structure": "Processes Determinating the Future of Rural Life": "The Impact of Industrialization on the Prospects of Rural Life".

1974

Adamski Władysław: **Chłopi i przyszłość wsi. Postawy, dążenia, aspiracje (Peasants and the Future of the Village).** Warszawa 1974, pp. 298. The book presents results of the author's empirical research. The research was made in three economically different districts – Złotoryja, Kazimierz and Wyrzysk, in 1969, with a community of 825 families as a subject. While preparing the research programme the author's objective was to obtain a most precise answer to the following questions: what is the Polish peasants' reaction to the multisided influence of socialist industrialization on the effects of the state policy towards rural communities and agriculture as a whole and on the infiltration of untraditional cultural ideas into the rural community.

Zambrzycka-Kunachowicz Anna: **Rzemieślnik w społeczności wiejskiej (The Handicraftsman in Rural Community)** Wrocław 1974, pp. 206. This work is an attempt to examine the structure and functioning of craftsmanship in chosen rural communities and an appraisal of its position and a craftsman's social prestige, against the given background. Research was made in the years 1966 – 1969 in the villages of the Nowy Targ region. The presented results permit a conclusion that in the presently accepted system of values the income is of greater value then the land. A typology of workshops given by the author is an attempt to determine the essential features of craftsmanship features that could be exposed to observations and examinations.

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Vol. 3 – Wacław Makarczyk (ed.), Warszawa 1966, Ossolineum, pp. 159.
Vol. 4 – Anna Sianko (ed.), Warszawa 1966, Ossolineum, pp. 288.
Vol. 5 – Zbigniew T. Wierzbicki (ed.), Warszawa 1967, Ossolineum, pp. 260.
Vol. 6 – Anna Olszewska-Krukowa (ed.), Warszawa 1968, Ossolineum, pp. 290.
Vol. 7 – Renata Tulli (ed.), Warszawa 1969, Ossolineum, pp. 301.
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